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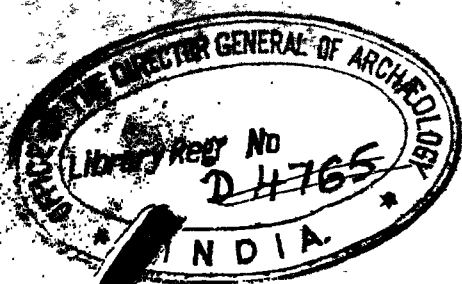
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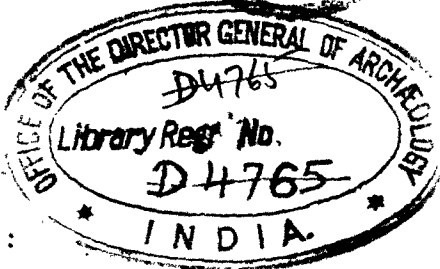
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BY

EDWARD THORNTON, Esq.,

AUTHOR OF "INDIA, ITS STATE AND PROSPECTS," &c. &c.

VOLUME III.



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HISTORY

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

CHAPTER XV.

SOME hesitation occurred in providing for the vacancy occasioned by the retirement of Lord Teignmouth. The Governor of Madras, Lord Hobart, had expected to succeed to the chief place in the government of Bengal; but the expectation was disappointed by the selection of Lord Cornwallis to re-assume the duties which a few years before he had relinquished. This appointment was notified to India, but never carried into effect, his lordship being subsequently named lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The choice of the home authorities ultimately fell upon the Earl of Mornington, who previously stood appointed to the government of Madras, and he quitted England late in the year 1797. The new governor-general had established for himself the reputation of a distinguished scholar, a brilliant parlia-

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A.D. 1797.

CHAP. XV. mentary speaker, and an able man of business. His attention had for a series of years been sedulously devoted to the acquisition of such information as was calculated to fit him for the office which he had now attained. His pursuit of this branch of knowledge was, in all probability, the result of inclination rather than of any other motive; as the probability of success to any aspirant to an office so honourable and so highly remunerated as that of governor-general must be regarded as small. But whatever the motives, the result was most happy. The Earl of Mornington proceeded to his destination prepared for his duties by as perfect an acquaintance with the history and circumstances of British India as the most assiduous inquiries could secure. In addition to the fruits of his private studies, he had derived some advantage from having served as a junior member of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India. At the Cape of Good Hope he met with Major Kirkpatrick, an officer who had filled the office of British resident at more than one of the native courts; and the information derived from him, added to that which had already been accumulated by reading and official observation, enabled the governor-general to enter upon his office with a confidence which in his case was well warranted, but which, with inferior opportunities, no one would be justified in entertaining.

The position of the British government in India at this time was not inaccurately described by Lord Teignmouth as "respectable." The Company pos-

sessed a considerable, but not a compact territory. Beyond their own dominions they exercised a certain influence, which might have been much greater had its extension been encouraged instead of being checked. But still the political prospects of the British in India were far from being bright. In various quarters the elements of danger were gathering into heavy masses, which the most supine observer of the times could scarcely overlook; and the policy which for some years had been pursued threatened to leave the British government to brave the storm without assistance. The probability, indeed, seemed to be, that, in the event of its being attacked by any native power, it would find in almost every other an enemy. Statesmen, whose views entirely moulded upon European experience, were incapable of adapting themselves to a state of society so widely different as that existing in India, had determined that if ever the British government should emerge from the passive acquiescence to which it was usually doomed, it should be for the purpose of maintaining a principle which had long been regarded as the conservator of the peace of Europe—the balance of power. The attempt to preserve the peace of India upon any such principle must now appear, to every one acquainted with the subject, not only idle, but ludicrous. But at the period under review, the hope, wild as it was, found harbour in the breasts of statesmen of high reputation; and the new governor-general was earnestly enjoined to maintain the ba-

CHAP. XV. lance of power as established by the treaty of Seringapatam. That balance, however, such as it was, had been destroyed; and the apathy or bad faith of the British government had contributed to accelerate its destruction. The dominions and resources of the Nizam had been left to be partitioned by the Mahrattas at their pleasure; and though the dissensions of the conquerors had relieved the conquered party from a portion of the humiliation and loss incurred by his defeat, he had, notwithstanding, suffered greatly both in honour and power. The means for preserving any portion of either, which had been forced upon him by the policy of the British government, afforded, as has been seen, additional cause for alarm to that government. The main strength of his army was under French control; and as, in states constituted like that of the Nizam, the influence of the army is far greater than in those wherein the due subordination of military to civil authority is understood and maintained, the councils of that prince were in a great degree swayed by those who held the power of the sword. The danger of the British government from the continued maintenance of such a force in the service of the Nizam was sufficiently obvious. No hope of effective assistance from that prince, against Tippoo or any other enemy, could be looked for; and even his neutrality could not safely be relied upon. This was not the only evil, perhaps not the greatest evil, resulting from the unfortunate course of policy which had been pursued. The hostile feelings with

which the English and French regarded each other were known throughout India; and the knowledge that the star of French fortune was in the ascendant, while the interest of the English was declining, was eminently calculated to give confidence to the enemies of the latter nation, and even to add to the number of their enemies by deciding the wavering against them.

On turning from the Nizam to the Mahrattas, there was little to relieve the gloom created by a contemplation of the unprosperous state of the British interests at the court of Hyderabad. The course of events had greatly diminished the power and influence of the Peishwa, and there was little probability that the inferior chiefs would hold themselves bound by engagements entered into by their nominal leader to co-operate vigorously in any common object. The predominant influence at Poona was that of Scindia, who was not believed to have any good-will towards the British government. Such were the altered circumstances of the two states who had co-operated with the English in reducing the power of Mysore. Arcot and Tanjore remained, as they had long been, sources of weakness rather than of strength. The new Nabob of Arcot, following the example of his predecessor, gave up his country an unprotected prey to the rapacity of usurers. The state of Tanjore was in this respect little better; and there an intricate question of disputed succession furnished additional cause of embarrassment.

CHAP. XV. In the north, the extraordinary scenes which had recently taken place in Oude were yet fresh in the memory of all, and the new government which Lord Teignmouth had been compelled by duty to establish, though in strict accordance with public feeling, had not yet acquired any portion of the confidence which is the growth of time. It was apprehended that Almas would resist it by arms, and fears were entertained of an insurrection of the Rohilla chiefs, a hardy and warlike race, never slow to draw the sword when an opportunity presented itself for asserting their independence. Zemaun Shah, the ruler of Caubul, who had on several occasions disturbed the peace of India, might, it was thought, deem the existing combination of circumstances favourable to a renewal of his attempts. This belief did not rest on mere conjecture. It was known that Zemaun Shah had been in communication with the bitter and irreconcilable enemy of the British power, Tippoo Sultan, and the mention of this prince leads to the consideration of the chief danger which the Company's government had to apprehend. The untameable hostility of Tippoo, a feeling as active as it was intense, had led him, ever since the conclusion of the peace negotiated by Lord Cornwallis, to seek in every quarter the means of regaining his lost power and influence, and of humbling the strangers who had inflicted such deep and painful wounds on his ambitious mind. His intercourse with Zemaun Shah was directed to these objects. An invasion

of the north of India from Caubul would have facilitated any hostile measures taken by Tippoo in the south by distracting the attention of the British government and dividing its force. At Poona, Tippoo had laboured assiduously to counteract British influence, and to engage the Mahratta chiefs in his views. At Hyderabad he had ventured to pursue the same course, and here he found his purposes answered by the co-operation of the French officers in the service of the Nizam. It was not in this quarter only that Tippoo sought aid from the national feeling of hostility so long existing between the French and the English people. During a period of many years he had employed all the means which suggested themselves for inducing the French to lend him efficient assistance in driving their rivals from India. An embassy sent by him to Constantinople had been intended to proceed from thence to Paris;* but circumstances changed the determination, and another embassy, consisting of three persons, was subsequently dispatched direct to France, proceeding by sea from Pondicherry. It arrived while the unfortunate Louis XVI. still sate on the throne of his ancestors, and was received most graciously; but its object was unattained. The French government, then tottering to its foundations, was in no condition to render assistance to a despot separated from France by thousands of miles, and whose only claim to support was founded on his hatred of the English nation. It has been

* See vol. ii. page 442.

CHAP. XV. said, too, that there was little disposition on the part of the French King to listen to the overtures of Tippoo—that his experience of the bitter fruits of French interference in the disputes between England and her colonies in America, which had taught those who for centuries had received the word of the sovereign as law the doctrines of the natural equality of men and the supremacy of the popular will, had rendered him cautious of embarking in wars which had no better justification than the desire of injuring a neighbouring nation by cutting off its distant dependencies. Certain it is, however, that the mission failed, and the meanness of the presents which Tippoo had thought worthy to be offered to the monarch of one of the most powerful nations in the world afforded abundant room for those sportive effusions of wit and ridicule which even the obvious approach of the moral earthquake which was to shake all the thrones of Europe could not banish from the French court. The ambassadors, too, quarrelled among themselves as to the apportionment of certain presents which the liberality of the French King bestowed on them ; and on their return, without effecting any thing for the purposes of the mission, one, who had been slighted by his colleagues on account of his having previously been in the position of a menial servant, revenged himself by accusing them of participating in indulgences forbidden by the Prophet. Tippoo, not unprepared to feel displeasure at the unsatisfactory termination of an attempt which had been the cause of consider-

able expense, soothed his feelings by disgracing the ambassadors.* But he did not thus easily relinquish an object so near his heart. The fearful changes which swept over France shortly after the departure of Tippoo's ministers from that country made no alteration in his views or conduct. He was attached to no particular school of political philosophy, and, beyond the limits of his own dominions, he cared not what form of government prevailed provided it were not such as to interfere with any of his interests or wishes. The red cap of the Jacobins was, in his eyes, as respectable as the crown of Saint Louis, and he sought the countenance and support of the successive revolutionary governments as assiduously as he had implored similar marks of favour from the monarch whose dethronement and murder had made way for such numerous experiments in the art of governing a great people—experiments commenced and relinquished with a levity that shed a ludicrous colouring over the horrors by which they were attended, and caused the whole to resemble rather a shadowy exhibition of the wild buffoonery of frantic demons, than a series of acts of most grave and important character performed by beings pretending to sanity and to the ordinary feelings of human nature. Through the agency of the government of the Mauritius various communications were made by Tippoo, in all of which he professed the strongest attachment to the French people, and attributed to

* See Colonel Wilks's *Sketches*, vol. iii.

CHAP. XV. this cause the hostility of the English, and the misfortunes to which he had in consequence been subjected. Well disposed as were those who administered the government of France to enter into any project for giving annoyance to Great Britain— anxious as they were to vindicate the national glory in India, where the flag of France had so often been lowered in submission to the rival nation, the state of affairs in Europe long rendered it impracticable for the French to bestow much of attention and any portion of assistance upon a suppliant from a distant part of the world. Tippoo, however, was too ardently bent upon his object to abandon it in despair; though the apparent indifference of the great nation must have annoyed, it did not discourage him, and some time in the year 1797 a circumstance occurred which re-animated his hopes. A privateer from the Mauritius arrived at Mangalore dismasted, and the commander solicited the means of repair. The officer exercising the chief naval authority at Mangalore, possessing a slight acquaintance with the French language, entered into conversation with the master of the disabled vessel, and reported, as the result, that this person represented himself as the second in command at the Mauritius, and stated that he had been specially instructed to touch at Mangalore for the purpose of ascertaining the Sultan's views regarding the co-operation of a French force which was ready to be employed in the expulsion from India of the common enemy, the English. Nothing could be more

gratifying to the Sultan than such an overture; the master of the privateer was promptly admitted to the royal presence, and honoured with long and frequent conferences. The result was an arrangement, by which the master of the vessel, though recognized in his high character of an envoy, was, for the sake of concealment, to be ostensibly received into the service of Tippoo; the vessel was to be purchased on the part of that prince, and to be laden with merchandize for the Mauritius; and confidential agents of the Sultan were to proceed in her for the purpose of concerting all that related to the proposed armament.

CHAP. XV.

The servants of Tippoo were less credulous than their master. They had conversed with some of the crew of the privateer, and discovered that the rank and mission of the commander were fictitious. The result of their inquiries was communicated to the Sultan, together with a representation of the danger which he would incur by disclosing his views to the English without any prospect of timely or adequate succour from the French. But Tippoo was too anxious that the Frenchman's assertions should be true to allow him to entertain a doubt of them. He met the warnings of his ministers by a reference to the doctrine of predestination, by which a sincere Mussulman consoles himself under all calamities, and excuses his want of exertion to avert them. The purchase of the vessel was arranged, but as the master was to remain in Mysore, the money was entrusted to one of his countrymen to make the

CHAP. XV. required payment on its arrival at the Mauritius.

— This person absconded with the amount thus obtained, and his subsequent fate is unknown.

His unexpected flight disconcerted in some degree the Sultan's plans, and even shook his confidence in the representations of the pretended French envoy, who was placed under personal restraint, on suspicion of being in collusion with the defaulter.

- Considerable delay took place before Tippoo could determine what course to pursue; but ultimately it was resolved to restore the vessel to the master, on his giving bond for the amount entrusted to his countryman, and to allow him to proceed to the Mauritius, conveying with him two servants of Tippoo, as ambassadors to the government of that island, with letters from their sovereign. The suspicion with which the commander of the vessel had been regarded probably generated a similar feeling in his mind; and, before he had been long at sea, he demanded to examine the letters in charge of Tippoo's ambassadors, threatening that, if refused, he would proceed on a privateering expedition, instead of making for the Mauritius. Some altercation took place, which was ended by the Frenchman adopting the short and effective course of forcibly seizing and opening the objects of his curiosity. The perusal of the letters seems to have removed his distrust, and he steered without hesitation to the

A. D. 1798. Mauritius, where he arrived in January, 1798.

The ambassadors were received by the French governor with distinguished honour; but the pub-

licity thus given to their arrival, however flattering, was altogether inconsistent with the secrecy which it was intended should be preserved with regard to their mission. Their despatches being opened, were found to express the great anxiety of Tippoo for the co-operation of the French in a plan which was laid down for the conquest of the English and Portuguese possessions in India, and of the territories of their native allies. The answer was most courteous, but little satisfactory. The fallaciousness of the expectations which had brought Tippoo's ambassadors to the Mauritius, and the falsehood of the statements which had induced the Sultan to send them, were illustrated by the declaration of the French authorities, that they had not at their disposal any adequate means of aiding the Sultan's views, but that his proposals should be transmitted to the government of France, who, it was not doubted, would joyfully comply with his wishes. The letters of the Sultan were accordingly transferred to France in duplicate; but as a long period would necessarily elapse before the determination of the government there could be known, the governor of the island, General Malartic, resolved to manifest his sympathy with the cause of Tippoo by issuing a proclamation, recounting the proposal of the Sultan to form an alliance with the French; and his avowal that he only waited the moment when that nation should come to his assistance to declare war against the English, whom it was his ardent desire to expel from India. The proclamation then ad-

CHAP. XV. verted to the impracticability of the island government sparing any portion of its regular troops for such service; and concluded with inviting citizens, both white and black, to enrol themselves under the Sultan's flag, assuring those who might be disposed to volunteer of good pay, the amount of which was to be fixed with the ambassadors, and of being permitted to return to their own country whenever they might desire. Little could be hoped from this measure; and it seems impossible to assign any reasonable motive for thus, without necessity, and without any prospect of advantage, giving publicity to that which it was most important to conceal. The success of the experiment was commensurate with its wisdom. Tippoo's servants re-embarked with a mere handful of followers, and they for the most part the refuse of the island rabble.* With this precious addition to the strength of the Sultan, they

A.D. 1798. landed at Mangalore in April.

As Tippoo had expected to receive from the French islands a large and effective force, he must have felt some disappointment on the arrival of the extraordinary group which accompanied his ambassadors on their return. Though few in number and low in character, they had at least one recommendation to the favour of the Sultan—they shared in his hatred of

* Their numbers are differently stated. The governor-general, in a minute recorded 12th August, 1798, concludes that they did not exceed two hundred. Colonel Wilks, who had the opportunity of consulting Mysorean authorities, states the number to have been exactly ninety-nine.

the English; and though their feelings, with regard to the respective rights of sovereigns and people, were not such as could well be reconciled with the service of a despot, this circumstance seems to have given no concern either to them or their employer. Burning with zeal for those principles, the propagation of which had deluged Europe with blood, they made no attempt to conceal their opinions; and—a fact still more extraordinary—the Sultan, so far from manifesting any dislike of their views, ostensibly gave them the advantage of his sanction and patronage. One of the earliest measures of Tippoo's new friends was to organize a Jacobin club on those principles of national equality and universal fraternization which formed the creed of their countrymen at home. This association was not merely tolerated by the Sultan—it was honoured by his special approbation, and he even condescended to become a member of it. Whether or not he submitted to the fraternal embrace is uncertain; but it is beyond a doubt that he was enrolled among these assertors of liberty and equality, and added to the titles which he previously bore another, which, in the East, had at least the charm of novelty: the Sultan of Mysore became Citizen Tippoo. The tree of liberty was planted, and the cap of equality elevated. The citizen adventurers met in primary assembly; “instructed each other,” says Colonel Wilks, “in the enforcement of their new rights, and the abandonment of their old duties;” the emblems of royalty were publicly

CHAP. XV. burnt, and an oath of hatred to that antiquated institution publicly administered and taken; and these ceremonies took place in a country where one man held at his disposal the lives, liberty, and property of all others—that man, moreover, though not only a despot, but a tyrant, witnessing these republican rites with approving eyes, and giving to them importance by his countenance and support. In truth, the whole life of Tippoo was an exemplification of the force of frenzied passion; and no part of it more strongly attests his total want of ordinary prudence and self-control than his conduct towards the men whom his silly embassy to the Mauritius had brought from thence, to preach under his auspices doctrines which, if practically followed out, would have levelled the most imperious of princes with the most wretched slave whom he oppressed. The champions of the new opinions hated those whom the Sultan also most intensely hated; and this was sufficient, not only to atone for all their extravagance, but to recommend their opinions to especial favour.

A. D. 1798. The Earl of Mornington arrived at Madras in April, and at the seat of his government in Bengal in May, 1798. Shortly afterwards, a copy of the proclamation issued at the Mauritius, announcing the designs of Tippoo, and inviting French citizens to join his standard, appeared in Calcutta. It necessarily attracted the attention of the governor-general, whose first impression was to doubt its authenticity. The actual existence of so wild a scheme, so wildly pursued, was not, indeed, to be believed

upon slight grounds. "It seemed incredible," said the governor-general, in recording his views on the subject, "that if the French really entertained a design of furnishing aid to Tippoo, they would publicly declare that design, when no other apparent end could be answered by such a declaration, excepting that of exposing the project in its infancy to the observation of our governments both at home and in India, and of preparing both for a timely and effectual resistance. It did not appear more probable that Tippoo (whatever might be his secret design) would have risked so public and unguarded an avowal of his hostility."* The governor-general, however, deemed it proper to guard against the dangers of rash and obstinate disbelief, no less than against the inconveniences that might result from over-hasty credence. He forthwith instituted such inquiries as might lead to the determination of the question whether or not such a proclamation had been issued; and to be prepared for whatever measures might become necessary, he directed the governor of Madras, General Harris,† to turn his attention to the collection of a force on the coast to meet any emergency.

The authenticity of the proclamation was soon ascertained; but another doubt occurred—whether the step might not have been taken by M. Malartic without the concurrence of Tippoo, and for the pro-

* Minute recorded on Bengal Government Consultations, 12th August, 1798.

† Lord Hobart had departed in October, 1797.

CHAP. XV. motion of some object of the French government unconnected with his interests and unauthorized by his consent. The investigation which followed developed all the facts that have been related as to the embassy dispatched by Tippoo to the Mauritius, its flattering reception, the previous absence of any view on the part of the French authorities of aiding Tippoo in any manner, and the subsequent proceedings, down to the embarkation of the motley band of volunteers, their landing at Mangalore, and their admission into the Sultan's service. The feelings of Tippoo towards the British nation and government were previously no secret ; but had a doubt existed on the subject, it must have been removed by the information elicited by the inquiries of the governor-general. It was shewn not only that Tippoo would gladly avail himself of any opportunity that might offer for the recovery of his former power, but that he was not disposed to wait till fortune might throw the means in his way ; that he was collecting strength for his meditated task of driving the English from India ; and that as soon as he should be in a situation to commence war with a probability of success, his revengeful spirit would be released from the restraints to which, for a time, it had most reluctantly and most painfully been subjected. His application for French assistance had thus far failed ; but the failure was not attributable to any unwillingness on the part of those addressed to afford the Sultan all he wanted. The French government at home—its representatives abroad—would

alike have rejoiced in an opportunity of striking a blow at the power of Great Britain in India. The feeling had been manifested by the mode in which the demands of Tippoo had been met. Though what was yielded to his request was but a mockery of his wants, it was all that the island government could afford ; and in raising and dispatching to Mangalore the miserable band of adventurers who followed Tippoo's ministers, the desire to annoy the British government was not less strongly manifested than the want of ability to render annoyance effective. The feeling of hostility would certainly continue, and the means of effectively gratifying it might in time be found.

With the aid of allies, the British government had not found the conquest of Tippoo an easy task. The probability now was, that at no distant period the same labour must be undertaken without allies, with a French force acting in conjunction with the sovereign of Mysore, and with every native power of strength or importance united with those inveterate enemies of the English in the common object of driving them out of India.

It was for the governor-general to determine whether he would afford Tippoo further time to mature his plans, and to gain strength for carrying them into effect, or whether he would strike while the enemy was comparatively unprepared. He preferred the latter course, and the reasons by which his judgment was determined cannot be more fairly or more powerfully given than in his own

CHAP. XV. words:—"If," said his lordship, "the conduct of Tippoo Sultan had been of a nature which could be termed ambiguous or suspicious: if he had merely increased his force beyond his ordinary establishment, or had stationed it in some position of our confines, or on those of our allies, which might justify jealousy or alarm; if he had renewed his secret intrigues at the courts of Hyderabad, Poonah, and Caubul; or even if he had entered into any negotiation with France, of which the object was at all obscure; it might be our duty to resort, in the first instance, to his construction of proceedings, which, being of a doubtful character, might admit of a satisfactory explanation. But where there is no doubt there can be no matter for explanation. The act of Tippoo's ambassadors, ratified by himself, and accompanied by the landing of a French force in his country, is a public, unqualified, and unambiguous declaration or act of war, aggravated by an avowal that the object of the war is neither, explanation, reparation, nor security, but the total destruction of the British government in India. To affect to misunderstand an insult and injury of such a complexion, would argue a consciousness either of weakness or of fear. No state in India can misconstrue the conduct of Tippoo; the correspondence of our residents at Hyderabad and Poonah sufficiently manifests the construction which it bears at both of those courts; and in so clear and plain a case our demand of explanation would be justly attributed

either to a defect of spirit or of power; the result of such a demand would therefore be the disgrace of our character, and the diminution of our influence and consideration in the eyes of our allies and of every power in India. If the moment should appear favourable to the execution of Tippoo's declared design, he would answer such a demand by an immediate attack; if, on the other hand, his preparations should not be sufficiently advanced, he would deny the existence of his engagements with France; would persist in the denial until he had reaped the full benefit of them; and finally, after having completed the improvement of his own army, and received the accession of an additional French force, he would turn the combined strength of both against our possessions with an alacrity and confidence inspired by our inaction, and with advantages redoubled by our delay. In the present case, the idea, therefore, of demanding explanation must be rejected, as being disgraceful in its principle and frivolous in its object. The demand of reparation, in the strict sense of the term, cannot properly be applied to cases of intended injury, excepting in those instances where the nature of the reparation demanded may be essentially connected with security against the injurious intention. Where a state has unjustly seized the property, or invaded the territory, or violated the rights of another, reparation may be made by restoring what has been unjustly taken, or by a subsequent acknowledgment of the right which has been infringed; but the cause of our complaint against Tippoo Sultan is not that he

CHAP. XV. has seized a portion of our property which he might restore, or invaded a part of our territory which he might again cede, or violated a right which he might hereafter acknowledge—we complain that, professing the most amicable disposition, bound by subsisting treaties of peace and friendship, and unprovoked by any offence on our part, he has manifested a design to effect our total destruction; he has prepared the means and instruments of a war of extermination against us; he has solicited and received the aid of our inveterate enemy for the declared purpose of annihilating our empire; and he only waits the arrival of a more effectual succour to strike a blow against our existence. That he has not yet received the effectual succour which he has solicited may be ascribed either to the weakness of the government of Mauritius, or to their want of zeal in his cause, or to the rashness and imbecility of his own councils: but neither the measure of his hostility, nor of our right to restrain it, nor of our danger from it, are to be estimated by the amount of the force which he has actually obtained; for we know that his demands of military assistance were unlimited; we know that they were addressed not merely to the government of Mauritius, but to that of France; and we cannot ascertain how soon they may be satisfied to the full extent of his acknowledged expectations. This, therefore, is not merely the case of an injury to be repaired, but of the public safety to be secured against the present and future designs of an irreconcilable, desperate, and treacherous enemy. Against an enemy of this description no

effectual security can be obtained otherwise than by such a reduction of his power as shall not only defeat his actual preparations, but establish a permanent restraint upon his future means of offence. To this species of security our right is unquestionable, upon the grounds already stated: but it cannot be supposed that Tippoo Sultan will voluntarily concede to us a security of this nature against the effects of his own resentment, treachery, and ambition, and against the success of the most favourite project of his mind. Since, therefore, the principles of justice, and of the law of nations, entitle us to such a security, and since we cannot possibly obtain it by the voluntary concession of Tippoo Sultan, it is the right of the Company to compel him to yield it; and it is equally my duty to use that compulsion without delay, provided the interests of the Company committed to my charge be not more endangered by the attempt than by the unrestrained progress of his preparations for war.”*

Under the influence of the views thus expounded, the Earl of Mornington meditated a series of bold and extended operations against Mysore. It was in the south that the blow was to be struck, and it therefore became of importance to ascertain what probability existed of the speedy assemblage of a powerful army on the coast of Coromandel. The communications from Madras were discouraging. The resources of that presidency were represented as exhausted; the equipment of an army, it

* Minute of governor-general, 12th August, 1798.

CHAP. XV. was alleged, 'could not take place within such a period as would admit of its acting with effect ; and some of the more influential of the servants of the government even suggested the danger of making any preparation for war, lest Tippoo should take alarm, and invade the Carnatic before the English were in a condition to resist him.* Before the receipt of these representations, the governor-general had been led to conclude that it would be necessary to postpone the execution of his plan for an immediate attack upon Tippoo. The advices from Madras confirmed this view ; but as the attack was only to be deferred, not relinquished, and as moreover, under any circumstances, it would be necessary to place the British territory under the government of Fort St. George in a state of defence, directions were given to extricate the army of that presidency from the wretched condition of inefficiency to which it had been reduced by the enforcement of a blind and indiscriminating frugality. The Earl of Mornington was not deterred from this course by the fear of alarming Tippoo into action. " At what moment," said the governor-general, " he may think fit to strike the blow which he has openly menaced must always be a matter of conjecture. The interests and wishes of France are decidedly in his favour ;

* This point was strongly urged by Mr. Webbe, secretary to the government of Fort St. George, a servant of great experience, and who enjoyed a high reputation for ability as well as integrity ; but whose fears on this occasion seem entirely to have mastered his judgment.

the precise period of time when she may be able to afford him assistance must be uncertain; it is equally uncertain whether the impetuosity of his temper will suffer him to wait for that assistance. Various events in India might offer opportunities which he might deem (and perhaps with reason) favourable to the success of his hostile projects, and without pretending to estimate the considerations which may govern his conduct, it is evident that while we remain without a soldier prepared to take the field in the Carnatic, and without an ally to assist our operations, we yield to this implacable adversary the decided advantage of selecting the time and mode of his long meditated attack against our defenceless possessions. Under these circumstances, I have never considered that the option between temporary peace and immediate war resided in our own hands. The motionless condition of our army on the coast, contrasted with the advanced state of Tippoo's preparations, places in his hands not only that option, but the choice of the moment of conquest; for, in our present weakness, his first assault must be successful, whatever might afterwards be regained by our perseverance and resolution. The true state of the question therefore is, whether by continuing unarmed and unallied we shall abandon the issues of peace, war, and certain victory, to the discretion of a vindictive enemy, or whether, by resuming the power of meeting him in the field, we shall place in our hands the advantages now possessed by him. With this view of the subject, the

CHAP. XV. assembling our forces, and the placing ourselves in a state of preparation for war, at least equal to that of the enemy, appeared to me, from the first moment of the authentication of the proclamation, to be measures not of choice but of irresistible necessity and of indispensable duty." After stating that his views had extended beyond mere defensive operations, and adverting to the reasons which had led him to defer acting upon them, the governor-general thus triumphantly disposed of the suggestion to make no improvement in the means of defence, lest Tippoo should thereby be provoked to an attack:—"If the fear of an attack from him in the early stage of our preparations is absolutely to preclude us from making them, we are indeed upon most unequal terms with him, and we must then at once determine to leave our fate at his disposal. For it will then appear that we dare not take the common precautions of defence, while he, with impunity, enters into an offensive alliance with the French for the declared purpose of expelling the British nation from India."*

The sound and judicious views thus expressed were carried out with characteristic promptitude and vigour. The government of Madras was instructed to reform its military establishment in such a man-

* Letter from the Earl of Mornington to General Harris, acting governor of Madras, 18th July, 1798. This letter will be found in Mr. Lushington's interesting account of the life and services of Lord Harris, p. 290, and in that incomparable series of state papers, entitled the Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley, vol. i. page 135.

ner as should remedy the existing grounds of complaint;* and, in the meantime, the negotiations in

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* The nature of the defects in the Madras establishment, the cause from which they had arisen, and the necessity of removing them, are ably pointed out in a minute recorded by the governor-general, 20th July, 1798. The accuracy and importance of the general principles laid down therein would amply justify its quotation in the text but for the interruption which would thus be given to the progress of the narrative. The reader, however, will not be displeased by the insertion of a short extract in a note. "My inquiries have naturally been directed to ascertain the causes which occasioned so alarming a difference between the state of our army upon the coast and that of Tippeo with relation to their respective powers of moving at a short notice. The result of the consideration which I have given to this subject leads me to believe that the radical defects in the constitution of the army on the coast, which must always retard its equipment for the field, are these:—the want of a permanent establishment of draft bullocks; the want of a regular system for the speedy collection of carriage bullocks from the country; the want of established stores of grain and of other supplies necessary for the provision of an army in the field; the want of proper regulations for providing camp equipage; and, lastly, the want of a regularly established train of artillery with all its proper equipments.

"The motives which prevented government from providing the army upon the coast with the several establishments in which it is now deficient have certainly proceeded from an anxiety to limit the military charges of the presidency of Fort St. George.

"It cannot be denied that any effectual improvement of these deficient establishments would necessarily be attended with a very heavy expense; but it is equally certain that until that expense be incurred, the army on the coast never can possess the power of making a forward movement at a short notice. Under these circumstances, it is a most improvident system of economy to submit to the expense of maintaining so large an army while we withhold the necessary means of putting a proportion of it in motion upon any sudden emergency.

"The policy has been quite different in Bengal, where the part

CHAP. XV. progress at the courts of Hyderabad and Poonah were continued with reference to the great objects in view—the annihilation of French influence in India, and the increased security of the British dominions in that country by humbling the chief enemy which the English had to dread, Tippoo Sultan.

The Nizam had long been anxious for a closer connection with the British government than that which subsisted between them; but so far from any approach having been made to gratify his wishes in this respect, opportunities for attaching him more intimately to English interests had been positively neglected, much to the detriment of those interests, and to the advancement of those of the French. To the Earl of Mornington fell the task of correcting the errors of those who had preceded him. A new subsidiary treaty, consisting of ten articles, was con-

of the force destined for the immediate protection of the country is always considered as actually in the field, and is equipped for undertaking at the shortest warning any operations either offensive or defensive; yet Bengal is undoubtedly the part of our possessions in India the least exposed to any sudden attack.

“The nature of our establishment in India, and the rapid changes which arise in the political situations of the native powers, have been generally acknowledged to require that we should constantly be in a state of preparation for war; this acknowledged principle has evidently formed the basis of the whole system of our military establishments in India, which it has been our fixed policy to maintain upon a scale in point of numbers greatly exceeding a peace establishment.

“The same principle necessarily demands that a large proportion of our army should be always in readiness for active service.”

cluded with the Nizam. The first five regulated the pay and duties of the subsidiary force, the number of which was fixed at six thousand. The sixth was a most important article. It pronounced that, immediately upon the arrival of the force at Hyderabad, the whole of the officers and serjeants of the French party were to be dismissed, and the troops under them "so dispersed and disorganized, that no trace of the former establishment shall remain." It was further stipulated, that thenceforward no Frenchman should be entertained in the service of the Nizam, or of any of his chiefs or dependents; that no Frenchman should be suffered to remain in any part of that prince's dominions, nor any European whatever be admitted into the service of the Nizam, or permitted to reside within his territories, without the knowledge and consent of the Company's government. By other articles, the British government pledged their endeavours to obtain the insertion, in a new treaty contemplated between the Company, the Nizam, and the Peishwa, of such a clause as should place each of the two latter at ease with regard to the other. Should the Peishwa refuse, the British government undertook to mediate in any differences that might arise. The Nizam bound himself to refrain from aggression on the government of Poonah, and to acquiesce in the decisions of his British ally. No correspondence on affairs of importance was to be carried on with the Mahratta states, either by the Nizam or the English, without the mutual consent and privity of both.

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The French corps* in the service of the Nizam had been raised before the commencement of the war in which that prince was engaged, in conjunction with the English and the Peishwa, against Tippoo Sultan, but its original strength did not exceed fifteen hundred. In a few years it had increased to eleven thousand, and, at the period of the arrival of the Earl of Mornington in India, it consisted of thirteen regiments of two battalions each, amounting in the whole to upwards of fourteen thousand men. Its discipline, which had been regarded as very defective, had been greatly improved; and although deemed by military judges inferior in this respect to the English army, it was far superior to the ordinary infantry of the native powers. Besides field-pieces to each regiment, there was attached to the corps a park of forty pieces of ordnance, chiefly brass, from twelve to thirty-six pounders, with a well-trained body of artillerymen, many of whom were Europeans. A design existed of raising a body of cavalry to act with the corps, and a commencement had been made. The national spirit manifested by its officers, and the zeal and activity which they displayed in advancing the interests of their own country and undermining those of the English, have been already noticed.† The death of its commander, M. Raymond, which had occurred a short time before the period under consideration, did not appear

* The word "French" must be understood as applying only to the principal officers; the men were generally sepoys.

† See vol. ii. pp. 554, 555.

materially to have diminished French influence. Raymond was an accomplished master of intrigue, and a successful practitioner of all the arts of crooked policy, but he enjoyed little reputation for military skill. His successor, M. Peron, was a more active and enterprising man than Raymond, his political feelings were more violent, and he was far better acquainted with the principles of the military art. The second in command, an officer named Baptiste, though inferior to Peron in military endowments, compensated for the deficiency by a burning hatred of the English, and a degree of cunning which rendered him a most useful instrument for carrying on the designs in which the French party had for years been engaged.

But this corps, so long in a constant state of increase, and so long the source of annoyance and apprehension to the British government, was now sentenced to dispersion, and the talents of its officers, whether for war or intrigue, were unable to arrest its fate. The governor-general had directed the government of Madras to make a detachment for the purpose of co-operating with the British troops already at Hyderabad against the French force at that place. The despondency which on former occasions had operated so injuriously at Madras, had on this nearly paralyzed the arm of the British government, when raised to strike at a most formidable and most insidious source of danger. Objections were raised, and, but for the firmness and public spirit of General Harris, the governor, they would have

CHAP. XV. been fatal. He met them by declaring that he was prepared to take the responsibility of the measure upon himself; and that, if no public money could be had, he would furnish from his private funds the sum necessary to put the troops in motion. The required detachment was accordingly made, and placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Roberts. Some little delay occurred in its quitting the Company's territories; but it arrived at Hyderabad on the 10th of October, and joined the British force previously at that place.

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On the arrival of the detachment, Captain J. A. Kirkpatrick, the acting British resident, demanded the full execution of that article of the treaty which related to the French corps. But intrigue was at work to procure its postponement, and the Nizam hesitated. His minister, though well inclined to the English, recoiled from a measure so vigorous as that called for by the British resident, and was desirous that resort to extremities should be delayed, and, if possible, altogether avoided.* The resident endeavoured to put an end to the vacillation of the court of Hyderabad by a powerful remonstrance, concluding with an avowal of his intention to act without the authority of the Nizam, if that authority continued to be withheld. The effect of this was

* Sir John Malcolm, who was assistant to the British resident, speaking, in his *Sketch of the Political History of India*, of the character of the minister, describes it as very timid. In a private letter written at the time, and published in the *Life of Lord Harris*, he speaks more strongly, and declares the minister to be "the most timid of cowards."

assisted by a movement of the British force to the ground which commanded the French lines. There was now no longer any room for evasion—the Nizam and his minister were compelled to make choice between the English and the French; and, as was to be expected, they determined in favour of the former. A body of two thousand horse was sent to the support of the British force, and a mutiny which broke out in the French camp aided the views of those who sought its dispersion. The object was speedily effected, and without the loss of a single life. The French officers surrendered themselves as prisoners, not reluctant then to escape the fury of their men; and the sepoys, after some parleying, laid down their arms. The whole affair occupied but a few hours. The total number of men disarmed was about eleven thousand, part of the corps being absent on detachment. Means were taken for the arrest of the officers commanding the detached force; and the whole were ordered to be sent to Calcutta, from thence to be transported to England; the governor-general engaging that, on their arrival there, they should not be treated as prisoners of war, but be immediately restored to their own country, without suffering any detention for exchange. The property of the captured officers was carefully preserved for their use, and their pecuniary claims on the Nizam only settled, through the influence of the British resident.

It had been the desire of the governor-general to

CHAP. XV. conclude with the Peishwa a treaty similar to that which had been entered into with the Nizam; but the object was not attained. Though the relations between the Peishwa and the English government were professedly friendly, there was perhaps not a Mahratta chief who would have viewed the humiliation, or even the destruction, of the British power without delight; and amid the complicated intrigues of which a Mahratta durbar is ever the scene, the attempts of the Earl of Mornington to restore the triple alliance to a state of efficiency were defeated.

In the meantime the preparations against Tippoo proceeded. The objects of the governor-general, as explained by himself, were, by obtaining the whole maritime territory remaining in the possession of Tippoo Sultan below the Ghats on the coast of Malabar, to preclude him from all future communication by sea with his French allies—to compel him to defray the entire expenses of the war, thus securing reimbursement of the outlay rendered necessary by his hostility, and by crippling his resources, increasing the probability of future security—to prevail on him to admit permanent residents at his court from the English and their allies, and to procure the expulsion of all the natives of France in his service, together with an engagement for the perpetual exclusion of all Frenchmen both from his army and dominions. Before hostilities commenced, however, the Sultan was allowed time to avert them by timely concession. Some doubt had arisen whe-

ther or not the district of Wynaad were included in the cessions made to the English at the peace, and their claim to it was abandoned. Disputes had arisen between Tippoo and the Rajah of Coorg, whom he cordially hated, and these it was proposed to refer to the decision of commissioners. In November, news arrived in India of the invasion of Egypt by the French, and of the victory obtained over the fleet of that nation by Lord Nelson. This intelligence was communicated to Tippoo, with such remarks as the subject and the known views of the Sultan naturally suggested. During the same month, another letter was addressed by the governor-general to Tippoo, adverting to the transactions between that prince and the French government of the Mauritius, and proposing to send an English officer to Tippoo for the purpose of communicating the views of the Company and their allies. Another letter was subsequently dispatched, calling attention to the former; and to be prepared either to lend vigour to the operations of war, or to facilitate the progress of negotiation, the governor-general determined to proceed to Madras, where he arrived on the 31st of December. Here he received an answer from Tippoo to the two letters which he had last addressed to that prince. A ridiculous attempt was made to explain away the embassy to the Mauritius, and its consequences. In all other respects the communication was vague, almost beyond the ordinary measure of Oriental deficiency of meaning. The proposal to dispatch a British officer

CHAP. XV. to the court of the Sultan might be regarded as declined, Tippoo saying, that he would inform the governor-general at what time and place it would be convenient to receive him, but neither time nor place being named. The answer of the Earl of Mornington contained an able and indignant exposure of the conduct of the Sultan; but the door for negotiation was still kept open, and acceptance of the proposal previously made strenuously pressed upon Tippoo's consideration.

A few days later another communication was made, repeating the proposal, and enclosing a letter from the Grand Seignor to Tippoo, denouncing the conduct of the French in Egypt, and calling upon the Sultan to co-operate against them. Throughout January, and a considerable part of the succeeding month, the letters remained unanswered. Of the state of affairs in Egypt nothing satisfactory was known: the arrival of a French fleet in the Arabian Gulf was apprehended, and it was ascertained that while Tippoo either neglected to answer the communications of the British government, or answered them with studied evasion, an embassy from him to the executive Directory of France was about to take its departure from the Danish settlement of Tranquebar.* Overtures for peaceful arrangements of differences were obviously wasted on such a man, and the governor-general properly deter-

* The embassy sailed early in February. The Earl of Mornington dispatched a vessel for the purpose of intercepting it, but the object was not accomplished.

mined "to suspend all negotiation with the Sultan until the united force of the arms of the Company and of their allies" should "have made such an impression on his territories" as might "give full effect to the just representations of the allied powers."* Before the despatch, however, containing the report of this intention was closed, a letter was received from Tippoo, singularly brief and frivolous,† but which conveyed the Sultan's assent, so often requested, to the mission of a British officer to his court. The decision of the Earl of Mornington on this occasion was marked by his usual judgment:—The "design," said he, "is evidently to gain time until a change of circumstances and of season shall enable him to avail himself of the assistance of France. I shall endeavour to frustrate this design; and although

* Letter from the governor-general to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, 13th February, 1799.

† To shew that the letter is not improperly characterized, a copy of it is submitted:—"I have been much gratified by the agreeable receipt of your lordship's two friendly letters, the first brought by a camelman, the last by hircarrahs, and understood their contents. The letter of the prince in station like Jumsheid, with angels as his guards, with troops numerous as the stars, the sun illuminating the world of the heaven of empire and dominion, the luminary giving splendour to the universe of the firmament of glory and power, the sultan of the sea and the land, the King of Rome [*i. e.* the Grand Signor], be his empire and his power perpetual! addressed to me, which reached you through the British envoy, and which you transmitted, has arrived. Being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion. You will be pleased to dispatch Major Doveton (about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written) slightly attended (or unattended). Always continue to gratify me by friendly letters notifying your welfare."

CHAP. XV. I shall not decline even this tardy and insidious acceptance of my repeated propositions for opening a negotiation, I shall accompany the negotiation by the movement of the army, for the purpose of enforcing such terms of peace as shall give effectual security to the Company's possessions against any hostile consequences of the Sultan's alliance with the French."

The command of the army of the Carnatic had been intended for Sir Alured Clarke, the commander-in-chief of the forces of Bengal; but the apprehension of an invasion of the north of India by Zemaun Shah suggested the necessity of retaining that officer at Calcutta, where he was appointed to exercise the chief functions of government during the absence of the Earl of Mornington. The command thus vacated was bestowed on General Harris, who with singular disinterestedness, when the alarm on account of Zemaun Shah had been dispelled by the retrograde march of that sovereign, suggested the re-appointment of Sir Alured Clarke in supercession of himself.* The command, however, was retained by General Harris at the express desire of the governor-general, and he accordingly joined the army, which consisted of two thousand six hundred cavalry (nearly a thousand of whom were Europeans), between five and six hundred European artillerymen, four thousand six hundred European infantry, eleven thousand native infantry, and two thousand seven hundred gun-lascars and pioneers; forming altogether a force of about twenty-one thousand.

* See Life and Times of General Harris, pp. 242, 243.

The army was accompanied by sixty field-pieces, and was well supplied with stores. A corps, under Lieutenant-Colonel Read, was to collect, arrange, and eventually escort supplies of provisions to this army during its advance. A similar corps, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, was appointed to the discharge of similar service in Coimbatore.

Another army, consisting of six thousand men, assembled on the coast of Malabar, under the command of General Stuart, ascended into Coorg. It was against this army that the first effort of Tippoo was directed. On the 2nd of March, a brigade of three native battalions, under Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor, took post at Sedasseer, distant a few miles from Periapatam. On the morning of the 5th, an encampment was unexpectedly observed to be in progress of formation near the latter place. Before the evening it had assumed a formidable appearance; several hundred tents were counted, and one of them being green, seemed to mark the presence of the Sultan. The most recent information, however, was opposed to the belief that the tent was designed to shelter Tippoo, it being represented that he had marched to meet the Madras army, and that a detachment, under Mahomed Reza, was the only force left in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam. In this state of uncertainty, General Stuart resolved to strengthen the brigade of Colonel Montresor by an additional battalion of sepoy, and wait for further intelligence to determine his future course. At break of day on the 6th, General Hartley, the

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CHAP. XV. second in command, advanced to reconnoitre. He could discern that the whole of the enemy's army was in motion, but the thick jungle which covered the country and the haziness of the atmosphere rendered it impossible to ascertain the object of the movement. Uncertainty was removed soon after nine o'clock by an attack on the British line. The front and rear were assailed almost at the same moment, and the advance of the enemy had been conducted with such secrecy and expedition, that the junction of the battalion destined to reinforce Colonel Montresor was prevented. His brigade was completely surrounded, and for several hours had to sustain the attack of the enemy under the disadvantage of great disparity of numbers. General Stuart, on receiving intelligence of the attack, marched with a strong body of Europeans, and encountering the division of the enemy which was acting on the rear of the English brigade, put them to flight after a smart engagement of about half an hour's duration. The attack in the front still continued, and on reaching it General Stuart found the men nearly exhausted with fatigue, and almost destitute of ammunition; but the fortune of the day was decided, and the enemy retreated in all directions.

Notwithstanding the reports of the Sultan having advanced to oppose General Harris, this attack was made under his personal command, and he was probably encouraged to it by the recollection of the success which some years before had followed an attempt not very dissimilar in the destruction of the

force under Colonel Baillie. The Sultan, however, in this instance, gained neither honour nor advantage. His loss has been estimated as high as two thousand, while that of the English fell short of a hundred and fifty.* The discovery thus made of the unexpected proximity of Tippoo induced General Stuart to change the disposition of his force, and to abandon the post occupied at Sedaseer. This circumstance enabled the Sultan, with his usual veracity, to claim a victory. It was apprehended that he might hazard another attack, but after remaining several days on the spot which he had first occupied, he retired without attempting again to disturb the English force under General Stuart. His efforts were now directed to resist the advance of General Harris, who, having been joined by the contingent of Hyderabad and the troops of Nizam Ali, had crossed the Mysorean frontier, with an army about thirty-seven thousand strong, on the day on which Tippoo had encamped near Periapatam. His march was attended with many difficulties, but they were surmounted by care and perseverance, and on the 27th of March the army of the Carnatic had advanced to Mallavelly, within forty miles of Serin-

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* The Rajah of Coorg, who was with General Stuart on this occasion, in a letter to the governor-general, thus related his impressions:—"To describe the battle which General Stuart fought with these two regiments of Europeans, the discipline, valour, strength, and magnanimity of the troops—the courageous attack upon the army of Tippoo, surpasses all example in the world. In our Shasters and Purānas, the battles fought by Akbar and Malikaraj are much celebrated, but they are unequal to this battle."

CHAP. XV. **gapatam.** Here the enemy occupied some heights, from which they opened a cannonade upon the English force. A general action followed, in which Tippoo was defeated with severe loss. He retired, and his subsequent movement was designed to place his army in the rear of that of General Harris, who he expected would advance towards Seringapatam by the route taken by Lord Cornwallis. On that route Tippoo had taken his usual precaution of destroying all the forage. But the Sultan was disappointed of the success which he had anticipated. At an early period of the march, General Harris had formed the design of crossing the Cauvery at a ford some distance below Seringapatam. The motives to this deviation from the usual route were various: one object was to mislead the enemy, another to facilitate communication with the army of Malabar and with the corps under Colonel Brown and Colonel Read. Besides these inducements, the ford was said to be easy, the country was believed to have escaped the operation of the devastating policy of Tippoo, and the southern part of Seringapatam was regarded as the least defensible. The detour was effected so secretly, that the army, with its park and ordnance, had crossed the river and encamped near the fort of Soorilly before Tippoo was aware of the movement. When, too late, he became apprized of it, he is said to have exclaimed, "We have arrived at the last stage," and to have solemnly demanded of his principal officers what was their determination. They answered by professing their readiness

to die with him, and henceforward every act of resistance or defence was performed under the chilling influence of despondency. CHAP. XV.

The advance of the British army, after crossing the Cauvery, to the position intended to be taken up before Seringapatam was slow. The distance was only twenty-eight miles; but though undisturbed by the enemy, such was the exhausted state of the draught cattle, that five days were consumed in performing it. The deficiency of these animals had seriously impeded the progress of the army from its commencement. It had been a source of complaint from the time of Sir Eyre Coote, if not from an earlier period; but no measures had been taken to guard against the inconvenience. The neglect perhaps was encouraged, if it were not originated, by the sanguine belief which was so widely entertained that every war in which the English happened to be engaged in India was to be the last. At length the capital of Tippoo was within view, and the English general issued an order at once brief and inspiring. It ran thus:—"The commander-in-chief takes this opportunity of expressing his deep sense of the general exertions of the troops throughout a long and tedious march in the enemy's country with the largest equipment ever known to move with any army in India. He congratulates officers and men on the sight of Seringapatam. A continuance of the same exertions will shortly put an end to their labours, and place the British colours in triumph on its walls."

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The operations of the British army were promptly commenced. On the night of its arrival at its position, an attempt was made upon the enemy's advanced posts. It partially failed; but the attack being renewed on the following morning, was completely successful. On that day, General Floyd was dispatched with a considerable body of infantry and cavalry, and twenty field-pieces, to join General Stuart. Tippoo made a large detachment to intercept them; but all attempts failed, and the united bodies joined General Harris in safety at Seringapatam. Before their arrival, Tippoo had addressed a letter to General Harris, the first that he had forwarded to any English authority for a considerable period. Its purport was to declare that the writer had adhered firmly to treaties, and to demand the meaning of the advance of the English armies, and the occasion of hostilities. The English commander answered by directing the Sultan's attention to the letters of the governor-general for explanation.

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The preparations of the siege continued to be carried on, and much was effected of great importance, the relation of which would be tedious. On the 17th of April an attempt made by the enemy to establish a redoubt on the northern bank of the river was defeated by a force under Colonel Vaughan Hart, though exposed to a heavy cannonade from the fort. The post thus gained by the English was connected with others previously established, with a view to the future operations of the siege.

The 20th of April was marked by a tardy overture from Tippoo to negotiate. The governor-general had prepared General Harris to enter on this task by transmitting with his final instructions, on the opening of the campaign, drafts of two treaties, either of which he was authorized to adopt under certain specified circumstances. After consulting the commissioners appointed to assist the general in political arrangements,* he determined, in reply to the Sultan's advance, to transmit a draft of preliminaries, embodying the conditions of the less favourable of the two proposed treaties between which he had to choose. This, as it appeared from a despatch addressed by the governor-general to General Harris three days after the date of the overture, and when, consequently, the former was not aware of its having been made, was in perfect accordance with his views of the course proper to be taken under the state of circumstances which then existed.† The articles thus proposed to Tippoo provided for the reception at his court of an ambassador from each of the allies; for the immediate dismissal of all foreigners, being natives of countries at war with

* The functions of these commissioners bore no resemblance to those of the officers who, under a similar name, had sometimes been authorized to destroy the effect of military arrangements, however well concerted. They were subordinate to the commander-in-chief; their duties were confined to political and diplomatic affairs; and even in these they could only advise, not control. The object of their appointment was to relieve the general, and allow of his devoting his full attention to his military duties.

† The despatch of the governor-general was dated the 23rd of April.

CHAP. XV. Great Britain; for the renunciation by the Sultan of his connection with the French, and for the perpetual exclusion of that people from his service and dominions; for the cession to the allies of one-half the dominions of which he stood possessed at the commencement of war; for the relinquishment of the claims of Tippoo to any districts in dispute with the allies or the Rajah of Coorg; for the payment to the allies of two crores of sicca rupees, one-half immediately, and the remainder within six months; for the release of prisoners; and for the delivery of hostages as security for the due fulfilment of the previous stipulations. These conditions were severe, but not more severe than justice and necessity warranted. While Tippoo retained the power of being mischievous, it was certain he would never cease to afford cause for alarm. So intense was his hatred of the English, and so perfidious his character, that, instead of allowing him the choice of retaining a diminished share of dominion and influence, or of losing all, the British authorities would have been justified in declaring, like the great powers of Europe at a later date, with regard to another enemy,* that they "would no more treat with him, nor with any member of his family."

General Harris required an answer to be sent within forty-eight hours, together with the required hostages and the first crore of rupees, under pain of extending his demand to the surrender of Seringapatam. No answer arrived, and the labours of the

* Napoleon.

besiegers went briskly on. They were only suspended when an attack from the enemy required to be repelled; and in these conflicts success invariably rested with the English. On the 26th of April it became necessary to dislodge the enemy from their last exterior entrenchment, distant something less than four hundred yards from the fort, covered on the right by a redoubt, and on the left by a small circular work open in the rear. The duty was entrusted to Colonel Wellesley,* who commanded in the trenches. It was a service of difficulty; but, in the course of the night and of the following morning, was successfully performed, though not without considerable loss. This achievement seems to have been deeply felt by Tippoo; and, shaking off the lethargy or the disdain which had hitherto withheld him from replying to General Harris's proposals, he dispatched another letter, acknowledging their transmission, but alleging that, as the points in question were weighty, and without the intervention of ambassadors could not be brought to a conclusion, he was about to send two persons for the purpose of conference and explanation. General Harris, in his answer, offered Tippoo once more the advantage of the proposals formerly transmitted, without an addition to the demands therein made; but declined

* It is scarcely necessary to observe that this officer was the brother of the governor-general, who, after establishing a brilliant military reputation in India, vanquished in succession the great generals whose talents had given fame and dominion to republican and imperial France, including that extraordinary man at whose name all Europe had quailed.

CHAP. XV. to receive vakeels, unless they were accompanied by the required hostages and specie, in recognition of the terms being accepted.* The Sultan's determination was demanded by three o'clock on the following day. No reply was forwarded by him; and from the moment in which he received this communication from General Harris, he is represented as passing rapidly through an agony of grief into a silent stupor, from which he seldom awoke except for the purpose of professing a confidence which he could not feel, that his capital would be successfully defended.

A.D. 1799. On the 30th of April the fire of the English batteries was opened for the important operation of breaching; and on the evening of the 3rd of May the breach was considered practicable. Before day-break on the 4th the troops destined for the assault were stationed in the trenches. They consisted of nearly two thousand four hundred European, and about eighteen hundred native infantry. The command was entrusted to Major-General Baird. The instructions of the commander-in-chief to this officer were to make the capture of the rampart his first object. For this purpose General Baird divided the force under his command into two columns; one

* The object of Tippoo in all these advances was delay; and his character appears to have been perfectly understood by General Harris. Writing to a friend soon after his entering on the command, the general says—"You are for negotiation, so am I. But the rascal [Tippoo] would humbug me, and make me lose the game, if he could once get me to listen to him."—Life of Lord Harris, page 259.

commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop, the other by Colonel Sherbrook. The assault was to take place at one o'clock; and at a few minutes past that hour, General Baird, having completed all his arrangements, stepped out of the trench, and drawing his sword, exclaimed, "Now, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy of the name of British soldiers!" In an instant both columns rushed from the trenches, and entered the bed of the river under cover of the fire from the batteries. They were instantly discovered by the enemy, and assailed by a heavy fire of rockets and musketry. On the previous night the river had been examined by two officers named Farquar and Lalor, and sticks had been set up to indicate the most convenient place for fording. Both the attacking parties ascended the glacis and the breaches in the *fausse-braye* together. On the slope of the breach the forlorn-hope was encountered by a body of the enemy, and the greater portion of those engaged fell in the struggle; but the assailants pressed on, and within seven minutes after they had issued from their trenches the British flag was waving from the summit of the breach.

As soon as sufficient force was collected, the two parties filed off right and left, according to the plan proposed by General Baird. The party detached for the right marched rapidly forward on the southern rampart, under Colonel Sherbrook. The gallantry of Captain Molle, commanding the grenadiers of the Scotch brigade, was eminently conspicuous and ser-

CHAP. XV. viceable. Running forward almost singly, he pursued the enemy till he reached a mud cavalier, where he planted a flag and displayed his hat on the point of his sword. His men soon collected around him, and being joined by the rest of the troops engaged in this attack, they advanced rapidly, the enemy retreating before their bayonets. The remaining cavaliers were carried in succession, and in less than an hour after ascending the breach, the party, after occupying the whole of the southern ramparts, arrived at that portion of them surmounting the eastern gateway.

The progress of the column which had proceeded to the left was not quite so rapid. Colonel Dunlop, by whom it was commanded, had been wounded in the conflict at the summit of the breach; and just as the party began to advance from that point, the resistance in front was powerfully aided by the flanking musketry of the inner ramparts. All the leading officers being either killed or disabled, Lieutenant Farquar placed himself at the head of the party, but instantly fell dead. Captain Lambton, brigade-major to General Baird, now assumed the command; and the column, though not without sometimes being brought to a stand, pushed forward, killing many of the enemy and driving the rest before them, till they reached a point where the approach of the right column was perceptible. Here the enemy were thrown into the utmost confusion, and the slaughter became dreadful. The operations of this column were ably supported by a detachment under Captain Goodall, which,

having effected a passage over the ditch between the exterior and interior ramparts, took the enemy in flank and rear. The result of these combined attacks was, that when both divisions of the British force met on the eastern rampart the whole of the works were in their possession. The only remaining objects of anxiety were the palace and person of the Sultan. CHAP. XV.

With regard to the Sultan the greatest uncertainty prevailed. Whether or not he had perished in the conflict, and, if he still survived, whether he had effected his escape, or remained to fall with his capital into the hands of the victors, were questions to which no satisfactory answer could be obtained. Three officers of the general staff, Majors Dallas, Allart and Beatson, passing along the ramparts, discovered three men desperately wounded and apparently dead.* Two of these, from their dress and other circumstances, appeared persons of distinction; and one, upon examination, manifesting signs of remaining life, was raised by the British officers. It was not the Sultan, as had been conjectured, but one of his most distinguished officers named Syed Saib. He was recognized by Major Dallas, who addressed him by his name. He had previously appeared excited and

* This is the account given by Major Beatson, one of the parties present. Colonel Wilks says that the officers discovered *two* men, *one* of whom seemed of distinction. The statement of an eye-witness has been preferred to that of an author who had not the same advantage. At the same time it would be wrong to omit the opportunity of bearing testimony to the general accuracy and precision of Colonel Wilks's statements.

CHAP. XV. alarmed; but the kind bearing of the British officers, and the recognition of his person by one of them, seemed to divest him of fear, and he became instantly composed and tranquil. He raised Major Dallas's hand to his forehead and embraced his knees, but was unable to speak. On partaking of some water, his power of speech returned, and he inquired how Major Dallas came to know him. Being informed that he was the officer commanding the escort of the commissioners at Mangalore many years before, Syed Saib at once recollected him. A surgeon passing was called by the officers to the assistance of the wounded man, but having with him neither instruments nor dressings, he was unable to afford any. The palanquin of Syed Saib was then sent for to convey him to camp, and the opportunity was taken to inquire if the Sultan was in the fort. Syed answered that he was in the palace. The attention of the British officers was now called off by a firing of musketry occasioned by a sally of the enemy, and they left Syed Saib in the charge of two sepoys. But their kindness was unavailing. Soon after the departure of those who had endeavoured to rescue him from death, the unfortunate man attempted to rise, but staggering from the weakness occasioned by his wound, he fell into the inner ditch.

The firing which interrupted the attentions shewn by the three officers to Syed Saib having ceased, they proceeded to a spot where they could obtain a distinct view of part of the interior of the palace.

There they could perceive a number of persons assembled as in durbar, one or two being seated, and others approaching them with great respect. They then sought General Baird, to communicate to that officer what they had heard, and what they had observed. The general had previously received information of similar import, and had halted his troops for refreshment before he proceeded to summon the palace. The men being somewhat recovered, and the necessary preparations made for attack should the summons be disregarded, Major Allan was despatched to offer protection to the Sultan and every person within the palace on immediate and unconditional surrender. Having fastened a white cloth on a sergeant's pike, he proceeded with some European and native troops to execute his mission. He found part of the 33rd regiment drawn up before the palace, and several of Tippoo's servants in the balcony apparently in great consternation. Major Allan made the communication with which he was charged, and desired that immediate intimation of it might be given to the Sultan. In a short time the killadar and another officer came over the terrace of the front building and descended by an unfinished part of the wall. They evidently laboured under great embarrassment, but not to such an extent as to prevent the exercise of their ingenuity in endeavouring to procure delay, with a view, as Major Allan thought, with great appearance of probability, of effecting their escape under cover of the night. To these

CHAP. XV. **functionaries** Major Allan repeated the substance of his message ; pointed out the danger of neglecting it ; urged the necessity of immediate determination ; pledged himself for the due performance of the promise which he bore ; and, finally, required to be admitted into the palace, that he might repeat his assurances of safety to the Sultan himself. To this proposal Tippoo's servants manifested great dislike, but Major Allan insisted, and called upon two English officers, one of whom spoke the native language with extraordinary fluency, to accompany him. The party ascended by the broken wall, and from thence lowered themselves down on a terrace where a large body of armed men were assembled. It was forthwith explained to these persons, that the flag borne by Major Allan was a pledge of security to them provided no resistance were offered, and a singular step was taken in order to induce them to give credit to the assertion. With a degree of confidence which can only be characterized as imprudent and rash, Major Allan took off his sword, and placed it in charge of Tippoo's officers. The situation of the Sultan was still unascertained. The killadar and other persons affirmed that he was not in the palace, though his family were. The oriental fondness for delay was still indulged, and the killadar seemed not to know in what manner to act. After a further repetition of the assurances and the warnings which had been already given, the latter being enforced by reference to the feelings of the troops before the palace, which the

killadar was apprized could not be restrained without difficulty, that personage and his companions left the British officers, who now began to feel their position critical. A number of persons continued to move hurriedly backwards and forwards within the palace, and of the object of these movements Major Allan and his colleagues were necessarily ignorant. He hesitated whether he should not resume his sword; but, with more prudence than he had displayed in divesting himself of the means of defence, he resolved to abide by the choice which he had made, lest by an appearance of distrust he should precipitate some dreadful act. The people on the terrace, however, appeared to be anxious for the success of the British mission, and to feel great alarm at the possibility of its failure. They entreated that the flag might be held in a conspicuous position, in order at once to give confidence to the inmates of the palace, and prevent the English troops from forcing the gates. At length the forbearance of Major Allan became exhausted, and he sent a message to the sons of Tippoo, who were admitted to be in the palace, urging upon them once more the necessity of decision, and informing them that his time was limited. They answered that they would receive him as soon as a carpet could be spread for the purpose, and shortly afterwards the killadar re-appeared to conduct him to their presence.

He was introduced to two of the princes, one of whom he recollected from having witnessed his delivery, with another brother, into the charge of

CHAP. XV. Lord Cornwallis, as a hostage for the due performance of the treaty concluded by that nobleman with their father. Painful and humiliating as was that scene to the house of Tippoo, it was exceeded in bitterness of calamity by the spectacle which Major Allan now witnessed. The sons of Tippoo were then to be temporary residents with the English till the territorial cessions could be effected, and the pecuniary payments made, by which their father had agreed to purchase the privilege of retaining his place among sovereign princes. They had now before them nothing but unconditional submission to a foreign power, which held possession of the capital of their country; which could dispose at pleasure of every vestige of territory which yet owned Tippoo as its lord, and to whose humanity himself and his family would owe their lives should they be spared. The feelings of despondency and fear resulting from these disastrous circumstances were strongly depicted on the features and indicated by the manner of the princes, notwithstanding their efforts to suppress their exhibition. Major Allan having endeavoured to give them confidence by referring to the objects of his mission, represented the impossibility of their father's escape, and entreated them, as the only way of preserving his life, to discover the place of his concealment. They answered, that he was not in the palace. Major Allan then proposed that the gates should be opened to the English. This renewed the alarm which the courteous bearing and pacific assurances of the British officer had, in

some degree, calmed, and they expressed a disinclination to take so important a step without the authority of the Sultan. The necessity of yielding being, however, again strongly pressed, and Major Allan having promised to post a guard of their own sepoy within the palace, and a party of Europeans without, to suffer no person to enter without his own special authority, and to return and remain with the princes till General Baird arrived, they consented, and the palace gates opened to admit as conquerors that people whose utter expulsion from India had been meditated by its master.

Before the gates was General Baird, and Major Allan was ordered to bring the princes to the general's presence. Alarmed and reluctant, they raised various objections to quitting the palace, but at length they allowed themselves to be led to the gate. The moment was not the most favourable for their introduction, for General Baird had not long before received information of Tippoo, in strict accordance with his character, having murdered a number of English prisoners who had fallen into his hands. His indignation was highly excited, and to a feeling natural and even laudable in itself, may perhaps be ascribed the harshness which in one respect he seems to have manifested towards the captive sons of Tippoo. He in the first instance hesitated to confirm the conditions made with them by Major Allan, unless they would inform him where their father was. The attempt to procure the desired information failed, and the general finally assured the princes of pro-

CHAP. XV. tection and safety.* It is not to be supposed that General Baird had any serious intention of violating a promise solemnly made by one of his officers under instructions from himself, and by virtue of which possession of the palace had been obtained ; but it is to be lamented that the glory earned by the capture of Seringapatam should have been shaded by even the appearance of want of generosity or good faith. Apart, indeed, from all reference to the special obligation which the British authorities had incurred, the attempt to extort from the terror of the sons an exposure of the retreat of the father must be condemned, as at variance with some of the holier feelings of the human heart. There was no proof that the young men, who were now the prisoners of the British general, had participated in the guilt arising from the murder of his soldiers ; and they ought not to have been subjected to moral torture for the purpose of discovering the retreat of the criminal, he being their father. The cruelty of Tippoo merited the severest retribution which could be inflicted, but if even he had been found within the palace, he must have shared the safety promised to all beneath its roof, or the honour of the British nation would have been irreparably tarnished.

* As this part of the narrative rests solely on official papers, it would be unnecessary to authenticate the statement in the text more particularly, were not the fact related almost incredible. It is right, therefore, to state, that it is attested by General Baird himself in his report to General Harris.

A minute search throughout the palace was ordered, with a view to securing the person of the Sultan, who, notwithstanding the denial of his followers, was yet believed to be within its walls. The zenana was exempted from scrutiny, but a guard was placed round it sufficient to prevent the escape of Tippoo if he were concealed there. The search was unavailing, and information was next sought by acting on the fears of the killadar. This officer, upon being threatened,* placed his hands on the hilt of Major Allan's sword, and solemnly repeated his former protestation, that the Sultan was not in the palace; adding, however, and as it seems for the first time, that he lay wounded at a distant part of the fort. To the spot which he named he offered to conduct the British officers, and professed himself ready to submit to any punishment which the general might be pleased to inflict, if he were found to have deceived him. The place to which the killadar led was a gateway on the north side of the fort. Here hundreds of dead bodies were piled one upon another, and the darkness rendered it almost impossible to distinguish either form or features. Lights were procured, and an examination of the fallen victims of ambition was commenced. The discovery of the Sultan's palanquin, and of a wounded person lying under it, seemed to indicate that the object of the search was attained; but the man whose position in this scene of death and carnage

* Major Beatson says, "severely threatened." General Baird, indeed, seems to have entertained no dislike to strong measures.

CHAP. XV. appeared to mark him out as the Sultan was only one of his confidential servants who had attended him throughout the day. But the necessity for further search was at an end. The wounded servant pointed to the spot where his master had fallen ; and a body dragged from the accumulated mass above and around it was recognized by the killadar as that of the Sultan. Being placed in a palanquin, it was conveyed to the palace, where multiplied testimonies to its identity removed all ground for doubt.

Tippoo had fallen, but his fall was scarcely known, and it certainly contributed nothing towards the result of the day. During the last fourteen days of the siege he had fixed his abode at a place formerly occupied by a water-gate, which Tippoo had some years before closed. Here he erected a small stone choultry, enclosed by curtains, and four small tents were fixed for his servants and luggage. Overwhelmed with despondency, he sought consolation in those miserable dogmas, half common-place, half paradox, which have so often passed current as sound philosophy,* and struggled to renovate hope by the delusions of judicial astrology. A rigid Mahometan, he did not in the hour of his distress disdain the knowledge which the bramins were reputed to possess, and their art was invoked for the Sultan's information. Either from the effect of chance, or from observation of the circumstances of

* It is recorded that one of the apothegms most frequently on the Sultan's lips during this time was the standing sophism, that as a man can die only once, the period is of little consequence.

the siege, both Mahometan and Hindôo astrologers declared the 4th of May a day of danger. To avert the threatened calamity, the bramins recommended an oblation, and the fears of the Sultan induced him to bestow the means of making it. On the morning of the day on which peril was apprehended he proceeded to the palace, bathed, and, Mussulman as he was, presented, through a bramin of high reputation for sanctity, the required oblation with all the customary formalities. A jar of oil formed part of the offering; and, in compliance with a Hindoo custom, the Sultan endeavoured to ascertain the aspect of fate from the form of his face as reflected from the surface of the oil. Whether the exhibition indicated good or evil is not known; but, as Colonel Wilks observes, the result depends on mechanical causes, and "the reflection of any face may be formed to any fortune." About noon the Sultan had completed the ceremonies which despair had led him to practise at the expense of his consistency as a believer in Mahomet, and he repaired to the choultry to partake of his mid-day repast. On his way he was informed by two spies that the besiegers were preparing to storm. He remarked, that an assault by day was not probable. An officer who commanded near the breach also apprized him that there appeared to be an unusual number of men in the trenches, and recommended that orders should be issued for the troops to be on the alert. Tippoo again expressed his belief that the attempt to assault would not be made by day; and coolly added, that if

CHAP. XV. — it should, the attack must be repelled. The next intelligence that reached him was calamitous. It announced the death, by a cannon-ball, of the man from whom he had received the last communication, and who was one of his chief officers. The Sultan was agitated, but gave the orders necessary for the occasion, and sat down to his repast. It was yet unfinished when he received a report that the storm had commenced, and he hastened to the northern rampart.*

He found that the English had surmounted the breach, and placing himself behind one of the traverses of the rampart, he fired seven or eight times on the assailants, and, as was believed by those who attended him, killed several Europeans. The flight of his troops before the victorious besiegers compelled him to retire; though whenever an opportunity offered for making a stand, he is stated to have embraced it. But no efforts which he was able to make could turn the current of success. He had received a slight wound, and the exertions which he was unavailingly making rendered painful the lameness under which he laboured. Finding a

* Major Beatson reverses the order of the two accounts here noticed—the receipt of the news of the officer's death and that of the assault. The account furnished in the text is that of Colonel Wilks, whose opportunities of access to Mysorean sources of information, written and oral, afford a presumption of his accuracy in regard to the personal history of Tippoo. Major Beatson, too, represents the death of Tippoo's officer as having occurred about half an hour before the assault, which is perfectly consistent with Colonel Wilks's account, but scarcely with his own.

horse, he mounted and rode towards the gate of the interior work, with what object does not appear. Here he received a wound in the right side from a musket-ball. He rode forward a few paces, when he received another ball in his left breast, and his horse was at the same moment brought down. The faithful servant who had accompanied him through the day, and who survived to point to his conquerors the place where the tyrant had fallen, urged him to discover himself to the English soldiers who were pressing forward, as the most probable means of preserving his life. But the instinct of guilt forbade this course. Tippoo remembered that he had recently murdered some of their comrades with circumstances of great barbarity, and he apprehended that by discovering who he was he should but accelerate the fate which his zealous adherent thus proposed to avert. He accordingly checked the imprudent suggestion, as to him it appeared, by passionately exclaiming, "Are you mad?—be silent." But silence, though it concealed his rank, availed not to preserve his life. Tippoo was placed by his follower in his palanquin under an arch on one side of the gateway. A grenadier entering attempted to seize the Sultan's sword-belt, which was very rich. Had he submitted to the loss without resistance, the man would probably have pushed on; but, though fainting with the loss of blood, Tippoo seized, with a feeble grasp, a sword which was near him, and made a stroke at the soldier who had thus com-

CHAP. XV. menced the work of plunder, by whom he was immediately shot through the temple. The circumstances attending the discovery and recognition of his body have been already detailed.

On the morning after the capture of Seringapatam, an English officer having gone towards the river with a party of sepoy, perceived on the opposite side a few horsemen, one of whom waved a white flag. The officer advancing to the bank, was met by one of the horsemen, who informed him that Abdul Khalik was desirous of throwing himself on the protection of the English, provided his personal safety were secured and his honour preserved. This candidate for British clemency was the second son of Tippoo, and the elder of the two princes who had formerly been received by the English governor-general as hostages for their father's good faith. The required promise of security and honourable treatment was immediately given, and the prince surrendered himself to the British party. In the evening the remains of the deceased Sultan were deposited in the mausoleum erected by Hyder Ali, with all the pomp which could be bestowed. The arrangements were under the superintendence of the principal Mahometan authorities; the chiefs of the Nizam's army joined with the followers of the Sultan in the solemn procession which followed his remains, and the military honours with which it is the custom of Europe to grace the soldier's obsequies aided the solemnity of

the scene. The evening closed with a dreadful storm, by which several persons were killed and many more severely hurt. Seringapatam is subject to such visitations, and there was nothing remarkable in the storm which succeeded the funeral rites of Tippoo, except its extraordinary violence. Yet the imagination cannot fail to be impressed by the fact, that the consignment of the body of Tippoo to its resting-place was followed by a desolating convulsion not incongruous with his perturbed and mischievous life.

The conquest of Seringapatam was not achieved without a considerable sacrifice, but the loss of the British army was less severe than might have been expected. The total amount of killed; wounded, and missing, in the whole of the operations throughout the siege, fell short of fifteen hundred. The loss of the enemy cannot be ascertained with precision; but it has been estimated that, in the assault alone, eight thousand fell. Dreadful as it is to reflect on such slaughter, it is gratifying to know that scarcely any of the unarmed inhabitants were injured. A few unavoidably suffered from random shot; but the assault being made by daylight, ensured the power of discrimination, and it was exercised to the utmost practicable extent.

The capture of Seringapatam placed in possession of the victors guns, stores, and treasure to a large amount. Nine hundred and twenty-nine pieces of ordnance of various descriptions were found within the fort, two hundred and eighty-seven of them being

CHAP. XV. mounted on the fortifications. Nearly a hundred thousand muskets and carbines were also found, a great number of swords and accoutrements, a considerable weight of shot and powder, and specie and jewels exceeding eleven hundred thousand pounds in value. The library of the Sultan was not the least remarkable portion of the property transferred by the result of the siege. The books were of small value; but the private collection of state papers was of incalculable interest and importance, as they contributed to render the evidence of Tippoo's hatred of the English, and the extent of his intrigues against them, too strong to be denied or doubted by the most determined advocates of a policy undeviatingly pacific. The history of his negotiation with the government of Mauritius, and of its consequences, was illustrated by copies of all the correspondence which arose out of those proceedings. Other documents were found relating to his missions to Turkey and France. Others, again, developed his intrigues at the court of the Nizam; and among these were copies of correspondence passing between Tippoo and certain chiefs of the Nizam's army during the first campaign of Lord Cornwallis. The evidence of his endeavours to engage the Mahrattas against the English was in like manner confirmed; and it was further shewn, that it was not merely the greater powers of India that Tippoo sought to unite against the object of his hatred—he had descended to solicit many who might have been thought too unimportant for their friendship to

be desired or their indifference deprecated, and had addressed others who might have been supposed too distant to attract the Sultan's attention. "This correspondence," says Colonel Kirkpatrick, by whom it was examined, "proves Tippoo to have been extremely active in his endeavours to open and establish an interest even with princes whose names might be supposed to have hardly reached him." The intensity of his hatred extended the boundaries of his observation, which in Asia were not determined even by the limits of India. His correspondence was extended to Persia, and to the petty sovereigns of Arabia; and its single and invariable object was the destruction of the British power in the East. England has had enemies more able and more formidable than Tippoo, but never one more bitter or more implacable. Yet even he, but for the discoveries made at Seringapatam, might have found apologists among those who can discern nothing of good in the policy of their own country, and nothing of evil in the character of its enemies. The recesses of the Sultan's cabinet furnished proof which set at defiance all the arts of sophistry and misrepresentation; and which as amply vindicated the sagacity which had penetrated the views of Tippoo, as the result of the war attested the wisdom and energy by which those views had been counteracted.

The permanent command of Seringapatam was entrusted to Colonel Wellesley,* who exerted him-

* This appointment, as well as the appointment of the same officer to the command of the Nizam's contingent, led to some

CHAP. XV. self vigorously, as General Baird had previously done, to restrain excess, and restore order, tranquillity, and confidence. The inhabitants who had quitted the city soon began to return, the exercise of the arts of industry revived, and the daily commerce incidental to a populous town recovered its wonted activity. "In a few days," says Major Beatson, "the bazars were stored with all sorts of provisions and merchandize, for which there was a ready and advantageous sale. The main street of Seringapatam, three days after the fort was taken, was so much crowded, as to be almost impassable, and exhibited more the appearance of a fair than that of a town taken by assault." The same period of time was sufficient to convince the military chiefs that their best course was to bow to the authority which had succeeded that of their master. On the

unfounded and calumnious statements in the *Life of Sir David Baird*, compiled by Mr. Theodore E. Hook. Those statements have been amply and decisively refuted, especially by the author of the "*Life of Lord Harris*;" and they are noticed here only lest it might be suspected that they were designedly passed over. It is greatly to be lamented that the record of the services of Sir David Baird should have been made so frequently the instrument of maligning the character of the great man whom all the sound-hearted among his countrymen delight to honour. The prudence of such a course, on such an occasion, is not greater than its justice or its generosity. Sir David Baird was an able, and in many respects an excellent officer; but if his conduct in some cases is to be taken as an index to his opinions, it must be believed that he thought but lightly of the great military duty of subordination. Mr. Hook's work has given publicity to facts and documents which the best friends of Sir David Baird must have desired should never see the light.

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7th of May, Ali Reza, one of the vakeels who had accompanied Tippoo's son to the camp of Lord Cornwallis, arrived at Seringapatam with a message from Kummer-oo-Deen, the purport of which was, to acquaint General Harris that as fate had disposed of Tippoo Sultan, and transferred his power to the hands of the English, he begged to be admitted to a conference, and in the meantime he had sent Ali Reza to announce that four thousand men under his command were at the disposal of the British general, and ready to obey his orders. Within five days more all the chiefs who continued to hold military command, including Futteh Hyder, the eldest son of the deceased Sultan, had personally tendered their submission to General Harris, and the example of the chiefs was promptly followed by the whole of the troops. On the 13th of May, General Stuart, with the army of Bombay, marched from Seringapatam on its return to Malabar by way of Coorg. A detachment from that army was made for the occupation of Canara. The powerful fortresses in that province, and in other parts of Mysore, surrendered to the conquerors; the cultivators of the soil pursued their occupation as though no change had taken place, and a general disposition was manifested to submit to the good fortune of those whom Tippoo, in the insanity of unreasoning passion, had destined to disgraceful flight from the shores of India. The fall of his capital and his own death had put an end to all exercise of authority in the name of the Sultan of Mysore.

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The occupation of the conquered country being

CHAP. XV. provided for, the next point calling for decision was its ultimate disposal. The governor-general had furnished General Harris with instructions for concluding a preliminary treaty with Tippoo, under certain circumstances; but the infatuated obstinacy of the Sultan, and the extraordinary success which had thence resulted to the British army, had given rise to a state of things different from any which had been contemplated in framing those instructions. The governor-general, in consequence, reserved the final arrangements for the settlement of the country to himself. His first measure was to call for information on all points respecting the country of Mysore, and the possible candidates for its government, and for the views of the commissioners upon the subject. In conveying to them his orders on these points, the governor-general took occasion to state certain principles as fundamental, and requiring attention in any mode of settlement that might be adopted. These were, that the mode of settlement to be preferred was that which would unite the most speedy restoration of peace and order with the greatest practicable degree of security for the continuance of both; that with this view not only the interests of the Company, but those of the Nizam, of the Mahrattas, and of the leading chieftains in Mysore, were to be regarded; that the military power of Mysore must be broken, or absolutely identified with that of the Company; that Seringapatam must be in effect a British garrison, under whatever nominal authority it might be

placed, and that the Company must retain the whole of the Sultan's territory in Malabar, as well as in Coimbatore and Daraporam, with the heads of all the passes on the table-land. Some of these points, it will be remembered, were propounded by the governor-general as indispensable conditions of peace at an earlier period.

The views of the governor-general were distinguished not less by moderation than by wisdom. The justice of the war against Tippoo could be denied by none but those who were deficient either in intellect or candour; its success was as little open to dispute; and the Company and the Nizam consequently enjoyed the fullest right, in accordance with the received principles which regulate the conduct of nations towards each other, to divide between themselves the territory which their swords drawn in a lawful cause had won. Clemency or state policy might urge the abandonment of some portion of their claim, but their right to reap the full advantage of their successes was evident. To the free and unchecked exercise of their right the state of the country offered no impediment. The people appeared to render willing obedience to the new authority. There was nothing to indicate the probability of any outbreak of popular feeling in favour of the former government, nor of any attempt by the military chiefs in favour of the house of Tippoo. It had been the policy of the deceased Sultan to discourage and reduce all power founded on hereditary right, established office, or territorial

CHAP. XV. possession, and to concentrate all authority, and as much as was practicable of administrative function, in himself. Many of the military chiefs had fallen in the war, and those who survived had yielded to the victors. There was no reason, therefore, to apprehend that any disposition of the country which might be made by those who had conquered it would give rise to formidable opposition either from the people or the servants of the late Sultan.

But there were reasons against the apportionment of the whole between the Company and the Nizam, arising from the relative position of those powers towards each other and towards other states. Such a distribution would have excited the jealousy of the Mahrattas, and given them ground for discontent, however unreasonable. It would, at the same time, have increased the power of the Nizam to a dangerous extent. It would have transferred to his hands many of the fortresses on the northern frontier of Mysore, while it would have left the British frontier in that quarter exposed. The increase of the strength of the British government would thus have borne no proportion to the extension of its dominions. The Mahrattas would have found fresh cause of enmity both towards the Company and the Nizam. The Nizam, from a useful ally of the Company, might have been converted into a dangerous enemy. The partition of Mysore between the two powers who united their arms against Tippoo thus promised little for the permanent peace of India.

Some of these evils might have been averted by

admitting the Mahrattas to an equal participation with the Company and the Nizam, but others, not inferior, would have thereby been introduced. An evil lesson would have been afforded to those on whose aid the British government might in future have claims. If the Mahrattas, without an effort in the common cause, were to be admitted to share in the advantages secured by the efforts of their allies, there could be little doubt, from the dilatory habits and unprincipled character of oriental potentates, that others would be encouraged to adopt a similar course in the hope of similar good fortune. Further, it was not desirable to add to the strength of a state perfidious to a proverb, and never so formidable as when bent on purposes of mischief. An equal partition between the three powers must also have transferred to the Mahrattas those fortresses on the northern frontier which were not occupied by the Nizam, and thus have greatly increased the facilities of these freebooters for exercising, at the expense of the English, that predatory warfare which constituted their chief employment. Still, as it was expedient to preserve as near an approach to a good understanding with the Mahrattas as the character of the people admitted, the governor-general, after much consideration, determined on adopting a plan of distribution, which, assigning to the Peishwa a small portion of the territories of Tippoo, gave a larger to the Company and to the Nizam, the shares of the two latter powers being of equal value; while, to guard against some of the

CHAP. XV. inconveniences which he perceived to be attached to the complete dismemberment of Mysore, he resolved on forming a part of the country into a separate state. It is to be observed that the boon proposed for the Peishwa was not to be given unconditionally, but was intended to form the basis of a new treaty with the Mahratta empire.

This mode of distributing the conquered dominions having been resolved upon, questions of great interest and importance remained for determination. Who was to be the ruler of the renovated state of Mysore? Should it be one of the sons of Tippoo? Reared in the principles which had brought that prince to destruction—accustomed from the moment when reason dawned to regard the English with intense hatred, could a son of the deceased Sultan ever become an efficient or even a safe ally of the British government? Would his hereditary antipathy not be influenced by the recollection that those to whom he owed his elevation were the invaders of his country, and the subverters of the power which he had expected to inherit in undiminished fulness, but of which he was permitted to retain only a small share? Would not his resentment, on account of that which he had lost, be a stronger and more active feeling than his gratitude for the forbearance which had kept him in the rank of a sovereign prince? Would he not brood incessantly over his humiliation as Tippoo had done?—like him be tempted to place in hazard that which he possessed, in the hope of regaining that which he had lost — and like him

call an English army into the heart of his dominions? Should this result ensue, who could predict the event? Who could tell whether the British force put into action by the ambition of Tippoo's successor should retire—with honour indeed, but without advantage, as did Lord Cornwallis from his first attempt against Tippoo's capital—or whether its effects would be prematurely terminated by hasty negotiation, as happened in that nobleman's second attempt—or whether Mysore should be again the scene of a series of splendid triumphs to the British arms—or (for this could not be excluded from the category of possibility) whether they were there to be overtaken by disaster and defeat? These were momentous inquiries. They were so felt by the governor-general. He was reluctant to subject the children of Tippoo, "born in the state of royalty, and educated with the proudest and most exalted notions of sovereignty and power," to the sudden disappointment of all their splendid prospects; it would, he declared, have been more grateful to his mind to have restored the family of Tippoo Sultan to the throne, than to have transferred it to another, if the restoration could have been accomplished without exposing Mysore to the perpetual hazard of internal commotion and foreign war, and without endangering the stability of "the interests of the Company and their allies in that part of India." The character of the governor-general attests the sincerity of the declaration; but he could not gratify his feelings without defying his convic-

CHAP. XV. tions and betraying his duty. He therefore determined to set aside the house of Tippoo; and his reasons were thus stated. "In the most narrow view of the subject," said he, "it must be admitted that the son of Tippoo Sultan must have felt a perpetual interest in the subversion of any settlement of Mysore founded on a partition of his father's dominions, and on a limitation of his own independence. If, therefore, a prince of this race had been placed on the throne of Mysore, the foundations of the new settlement would have been laid in the very principles of its own dissolution. With such a prince, no sincere alliance, no concord of sentiments or union of views, could ever have been established; the appearances of amity or attachment must have been delusive; even his submission must have been reluctant, if not treacherous; while all his interests, his habits, his prejudices and passions, his vices, and even his virtues, must have concurred to cherish an irreconcilable aversion to our name and power, and an eager desire to abet the cause, to exasperate the animosity, and to receive the aid of every enemy of the British nation. Whatever degree of influence or strength might have been left to the native government of Mysore, in such hands would always have been thrown into the scale opposed to" our "interests. The hostile power of Mysore would have been weakened, but not destroyed; an enemy would still have remained in the centre of" our "possessions, watching every occasion to repair the misfortunes of his family at" our "expense, and forming a point

of union for the machinations of every discontented faction in India, and for the intrigues of every emissary of France. Under these circumstances, the same anxiety for the security and repose of” our “possessions which originally compelled me to reduce the power of Tippoo Sultan, now appeared to require that I should provide against the renewal of any degree of a similar danger in the person of his son.”*

Sound policy thus forbidding the restoration of the house of Tippoo, the governor-general naturally turned to the representative of the ancient royal family of Mysore, whose rights had been usurped by Hyder Ali. The heir was an infant only five years of age. The intentions of the governor-general were signified through Purneah, a bramin, whose talents as an accountant had led to his retention in high office by Tippoo, but who was quite ready to transfer his services to the new prince. The communication was followed by a visit of ceremony to

* Letter from the governor-general to the Court of Directors, 3rd August, 1799. It may be proper to remark, that in the extract quoted a slight departure from the original is occasionally made, by a change of the possessive pronoun. The letter being addressed to the Court of Directors, their interests and possessions intrusted to the care of the governor-general were spoken of as “your interests,” and “your possessions.” To have retained the precise phraseology would have rendered the meaning obscure without explanation, which could not conveniently be given in the text. It is just to state, that for the substance of the chief argument against the restoration of Tippoo’s family, which the author has adduced in his own person, he is indebted to the papers recorded by the Marquis Wellesley.

CHAP. XV. the infant Rajah from the commissioners who had been appointed to conduct the arrangements for the settlement of the country. They found the family of Hyder Ali's master in a state of great poverty and humiliation. The ancient palace of Mysore, though suffered by the usurpers gradually to fall to decay, had for some years afforded a miserable shelter to those whom they had supplanted. The privilege of occupying even the ruins of the building which had once been the seat of their power was at length thought too great. The palace was converted to a store-house, and the Mysorean family provided with another residence of very humble pretensions. In a mean apartment of this house the commissioners were received. A portion of the room was secluded by a curtain, behind which were the rana and the female relations of the family. The males surrounded the person of the Rajah. A formal communication of the design of the British government was made; and the rana, through one of her attendants, acknowledged in strong terms of gratitude the generosity of the British nation in rescuing her family from the degradation and misery in which they had been so long enthralled, and raising the heir of the house to the rank and distinction of a sovereign. A few days afterwards the infant prince was solemnly placed on the throne. The ceremony took place in the old town of Mysore. The palace was now incapable of affording accommodation to its master; and so complete had been the progress of ruin within the city, that it

contained no building in which the ceremony of enthronement could be performed. To supply the deficiency, a temporary shed was erected; and though architectural grandeur was necessarily wanting, there were several circumstances calculated to gratify the Mysorean family and their adherents. It was on the very spot which had been the seat of the power exercised by the ancestors of the young Rajah that his title was solemnly recognized; and the musnud on which he sat was the same which former princes had occupied on similar occasions of state.* The British commissioners, with the commander-in-chief at their head, waited the arrival of the Rajah. Meer Allum, the chief officer of the Nizam, and his son, Meer Dowra, accompanied them; and the presence of a large escort of horse and foot gave to the depopulated town an appearance of gaiety and splendour to which for many years it had been unaccustomed. The prince was attended by all the male part of his family, and followed by a vast concourse of people. At the entrance of the building erected for the occasion he was met by General Harris and Meer Allum, each of whom took his hand. He was thus conducted to the musnud and placed upon it, under a royal salute from the fort, and three volleys of musketry from the troops present on the occasion.

While the family of the late Sultan were thus excluded from political power, their welfare was con-

* The throne formerly used by the rajahs of Mysore had been found at Seringapatam.

CHAP. XV. sulted to the full extent that political prudence would permit. The governor-general resolved to assign to them a more ample maintenance than they had enjoyed under the rule of Tippoo, and if there were any error in his arrangements, it was in the disproportionate magnificence with which the relations of the fallen prince were provided for. The failing, however, had its origin in generous and noble feelings. Under the influence of similar feelings the necessary proceedings for the restoration of the ancient dynasty had been deferred until after the departure of Tippoo's sons from Mysore. It was thought a point of policy, not less than of generosity, to conciliate the principal chiefs and officers of the late government by a liberal provision, and to exercise similar consideration with regard to the families of those who had fallen in the war. This principle was extensively acted upon, and in some instances its application drew from the persons in whose favour it was exercised expressions not only of gratitude but of wonder, at the beneficence manifested by the Company's government. Kummer-oo-Deen received a jaghire from the Nizam, and another from the Company.

The changes which have been noticed were effected under two treaties, the earlier of which, called the partition treaty of Mysore, was concluded between the Company and the Nizam. The first article assigned to the Company a certain portion of the territories of Tippoo, out of which provision was to be made for his family and for that

of his father. The principal of these 'acquisitions were Canara, Coimbatore, and Wynaad. The second article determined the districts to be added to the territories of the Nizam, which were selected from those adjacent to his former dominions, and recognized the claim of Kummer-oo-Deen to a personal jaghire from the revenues of those districts. The third, after reciting that for the preservation of peace and tranquillity, and for the general security on the foundations then established by the contracting parties, it was expedient that the fortress of Seringapatam should be subject to the Company, transferred that fortress, and the island on which it was situated, together with a smaller island lying to the westward, to the Company, "in full right and sovereignty for ever." The fourth provided for the establishment of the new government of Mysore ; and the fifth prescribed the cessions to be made for its establishment. The sixth reserved to the Company the right to reduce the amount of its payments to the families of Hyder Ali and Tippoo on the death of any member of the families ; and in the event of any hostile attempt against the Company, the Nizam, or the Rajah of Mysore, to suspend the issue of the whole or of any part of such stipulated payments. The seventh article related to the reserve of territory made for the Peishwa in accordance with the governor-general's views as they have been already explained. This addition to the dominions of the Peishwa was made dependant on his accession to the treaty within one month after it should

CHAP. XV. be formally notified to him, and also upon his giving satisfaction to the Company and the Nizam on such points of difference as existed between himself and either of those parties. By the eighth article, if the Peishwa should refuse to accede to the treaty, and give satisfaction to the original parties to it, the territory intended for him was to revert to the joint disposal of the Company and the Nizam. The ninth article provided for the reception of an English subsidiary force by the Rajah of Mysore, under a separate treaty to be subsequently concluded between the Company and that prince. By the tenth article the negotiators undertook for the ratification of the treaty by their respective governments. There were two additional articles, by the first of which the two parties were exempted from accountability to each other in consequence of any diminution of the stipends payable to the families of Hyder Ali and Tip-poo Sultan by the Company, or of the personal jaghire of Kummer-oo-Deen from the Nizam. Its operation was thus reciprocal; but the object of introducing it was a prudent desire on the part of the British government to exclude the Nizam from interfering in the arrangements connected with the maintenance of the exiled families. The second additional article was an explanation of the eighth in the treaty, and was framed in contemplation of the possible refusal of the Peishwa to avail himself of the advantages to be proffered for his acceptance. In that case, it was provided that two-thirds of the reserved territories should fall to the Nizam, and

the remaining one-third to the Company. The reason of this unequal distribution was, that if the Peishwa should accede to the conditions annexed to his claim to the additional territory, one of these conditions being the satisfactory settlement of certain points of difference between him and the Nizam, the latter power would thereby derive considerable benefit; and the design of the article was to afford him ample indemnification in the event of the disappointment of his expectations at Poonah.

Under the fourth and fifth articles of the partition treaty, the new state of Mysore was established in the manner which has been seen. In conformity with the provision of the ninth, a subsidiary treaty was concluded with the government thus called into existence. For reasons already assigned, the governor-general had deemed it more advisable to erect a new state on the ruins of the old government of Mysore than to divide the entire country between the conquerors; but he had never contemplated this state except as a barrier to the Company's interests; in fact, it was to be British in all things but the name. This intention was never concealed from those who were interested in being acquainted with it. A stipulation for the defence of Mysore by an English subsidiary force, which virtually gave to the English the entire command of the country, was inserted in the treaty with the Nizam, and the terms on which the infant Rajah was to ascend the throne were at an early period indicated to his advisers. The subsidiary treaty

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CHAP. XV. concluded on his behalf consisted of sixteen articles. The first declared that the friends and enemies of either of the two contracting parties should be considered as the friends and enemies of both. By the second, the Company undertook to maintain, and the Rajah agreed to receive, a military force for the defence and security of his dominions, in consideration of which he was to pay seven lacs of star pagodas, the disposal of which sum, together with the arrangement and employment of the troops, were to be left entirely to the Company. The third article was important. Towards the increased expense incurred by the prosecution of war for the defence of the territories of the two parties, or of either of them, or by necessary preparation for the commencement of hostilities, the Rajah was to contribute in a just and reasonable proportion to his actual net revenues, the amount to be determined after attentive consideration by the governor-general in council. The fourth article was directed to making provision against any failure in the funds destined to defray either the expenses of the permanent military force in time of peace, or the extraordinary expenses incurred during war, or in preparation for war. For this purpose the British government, whenever they might have reason to apprehend failure, were empowered to introduce such regulations as might be deemed expedient for the management and collection of the revenues; or for the better ordering of any other department of the government; or they might assume and bring under the management of the servants of the Com-

pany any part of the territory of Mysore. The fifth provided for the due execution of the fourth article. Whenever the governor-general in council should signify to the Rajah that it had become necessary to bring that article into operation, the Rajah was to issue orders either for giving effect to the prescribed regulations or for placing the required territories under English management. If such orders were delayed for ten days after formal application for them, the governor-general in council might, of his own authority, take the necessary measures. But in all cases where possession was taken of any part of the Rajah's territories, an account was to be rendered, and the income of the Rajah was in no case to fall short of one lac of star pagodas, increased by one-fifth of the net revenues of the whole of the territory ceded to him by the partition treaty, the payment of which sum the Company guaranteed. These comprehensive articles secured to the British government all the advantages that could be derived from the establishment of the new state. They carried out the avowed objects of the governor-general in a manner not less creditable to his character for manly and straightforward dealing than for political ability. His own explanation of his views, and his justification of their unreserved exhibition, cannot fail to be interesting. "In framing this engagement," said the governor-general, "it was my determination to establish the most unqualified community of interests between the government of Mysore and the Company, and to render the Rajah's frontier, in effect, a powerful line of our

CHAP. XV. defence. With this view I have engaged to undertake the protection of this country in consideration of an annual subsidy of seven lacs of star pagodas; but, recollecting the inconveniences and embarrassments which have arisen to all parties concerned under the double governments and conflicting authorities unfortunately established in Oude, the Carnatic, and Tanjore, I resolved to reserve to the Company the most extensive and indisputable powers of interposition in the affairs of Mysore, as well as an unlimited right of assuming the direct management of the country (whenever such a step might appear necessary for the security of the funds destined to the subsidy), and of requiring extraordinary aid beyond the amount of the fixed subsidy, either in time of war, or of preparation for hostility. Under this arrangement, I trust, I shall be enabled to command the whole resources of the Rajah's territory, to improve its cultivation, to extend its commerce, and to secure the welfare of its inhabitants. It appeared to me a more candid and liberal, as well as a more wise policy, to apprize the Rajah distinctly, at the moment of his accession, of the exact nature of his dependance on the Company, than to leave any matter for future doubt or discussion. The right of the Company to establish such an arrangement, either as affecting the Rajah or the allies, has been already stated.*"

* Letter to the Court of Directors, 3rd August, 1799. There is no part of the admirable letter from which the passage in the text is extracted which will not repay an attentive perusal, and the reader will not be sorry to learn that it is published

Before referring to the remaining provisions of the treaty, it may not be improper to advert to a plausible and popular objection urged against all engagements of the like kind. It is said that they place the acknowledged sovereign in a state of dependance and pupilage. The objection is not without a foundation in truth. But the dependant position of the sovereign is not produced by such engagements—it exists independently of them. Except in cases where the prince manifests a degree of ability and energy seldom exhibited among the potentates of the East, but by those who have raised their own fortunes on the basis of usurpation, the sovereign is invariably in a state of dependance. A minister implicitly trusted, or too powerful to be shaken off, is usually the master of the weak and inexperienced person to whom he owns nominal obedience. Is it better that the power of control should be exercised by private, and, for the most part, unprincipled persons, whose influence, dependant on the intrigues of the durbar or the zenana, will generally be used for private objects, or that it should be wielded by a great and enlightened government, hav-

in the second volume of the Dispatches of the Marquis Wellesley. The whole of the papers collected under that title should be studied by every one whose duties are connected with British India, or whose inclinations lead him to take an interest in that country. By the statesman, whatever his sphere of action, the work should be resorted to as a manual of political wisdom. The judgment of the East-India Company on its merits has been shewn by their purchase of a large number of copies for the use of their servants under the different presidencies.

CHAP. XV. ing no end to advance but the mutual benefit of the two states—that which protects, and that which is protected? It is true that the former—the protecting state—may, in many cases, be unable to do much for the general happiness of the country which it is bound to defend, and that the military force destined to support the native prince may be sometimes called upon to act against his own subjects where they have just ground for complaint; but these facts, so far from proving that the protecting government has too much power, only prove that it has not enough. The same evils, or evils of equal magnitude, would exist whether the inferior state were dependant or not. If independent, and the sovereign were powerful, obedience to his will, or to that of his minister, would be enforced. If he were weak, oppression would be succeeded by anarchy, and the probability is, that the interests of justice and humanity would gain little. However objectionable the double governments of India, they seem a necessary step in the transition to a better disposition of political power. It may be that most of the subsidiary states would be more prosperous, and the people under them far more happy, were the entire authority, civil as well as military, in the hands of the British government. But that government could not grasp at universal dominion without exciting a degree of alarm throughout India, which would be dangerous, if not fatal, to its interests; while the excitement among the declaimers at home against European aggression in India would be in-

flamed to fury. The Earl of Mornington, therefore, acted wisely in not making Mysore ostensibly a British possession. He acted no less wisely in making it substantially so, and claiming for his own government as large a share of power as was consistent with the maintenance of the appearance of a separate state. The power for which he stipulated was to be exercised for the good of Mysore, as well as for the interests of the British government; and the influence of that government—its undisguised authority, if necessary—was to be employed for the improvement of the Rajah's territory, the extension of its commerce, and the promotion of the welfare of its inhabitants. The governor-general thus effected a great improvement upon all former plans of divided authority. The opportunity was a rare one, and he did not suffer it to escape him. In this case there were no previous engagements, no established institutions, to embarrass him. The Rajah could claim nothing—all that he received was a dispensation of pure bounty. The governor-general raised him from poverty to affluence—from degradation to honour; but he did not forget the just claims of his own country, nor those of the people over whom he had established the Rajah's authority. The beacons afforded by Oude, Arcot, and Tanjore, were neither unobserved nor disregarded; and the operation of the causes which had placed those countries among the most wretched even of native states was excluded from Mysore.

The articles of the treaty which succeeded the

CHAP. XV. important ones already explained must now be briefly noticed. The Rajah was bound to abstain from any interference in the affairs of the allies of the Company, or of any other state; and precluded from holding any communication or correspondence with any foreign state whatever, without the previous knowledge and sanction of the Company. Like other allies of the British government, he was restricted from employing Europeans without the concurrence of the Company, or suffering them to reside in his dominions. This article was framed with unusual strength. The Rajah engaged to apprehend and deliver to the Company's government all Europeans of whatever description who should be found within his territories without regular passports from the English government; "it being his highness's determined resolution not to suffer, even for a day, any European foreigner to remain within the territories now subject to his authority, unless by consent of the Company." Another point, which the governor-general had justly regarded as important, was provided for by an article giving to the Company the power of determining what fortresses and strong places should be placed in their charge, and thereupon of garrisoning such places in whatever manner they might think proper. The Company's government were to be the sole judges of the propriety of dismantling and destroying any forts, or of strengthening and repairing them; and the charges incurred by any such operations were to be borne in equal proportions by the two parties to

the treaty. If the employment of the regular troops of the Company should become necessary to the maintenance of the Rajah's authority, their aid, upon formal application being made, was to be afforded in such manner as the Company's government might see fit; but they were not to be employed in ordinary revenue transactions. The Rajah was to provide the funds for pensioning the Mahometan officers whom it had been thought politic to conciliate; but he incurred no charge on account of the late Sultan's family, who were to be supported by the British government, nor of Kummer-oo-Deen, who was provided for by assignments of jaghire. It was stipulated, that provisions and other necessaries for the use of the garrison of Seringapatam should be allowed to enter that place, from any part of the Rajah's dominions, free from duty, tax, or impediment; that a commercial treaty should be concluded between the two governments; that the Rajah should at all times pay the utmost attention to such advice as the English government should judge it necessary to offer, "with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture, and industry, or any other objects connected with the advancement of his highness's interests, the happiness of his people, and the mutual welfare of both states." With a view to the proper connection of the respective lines of frontier, provision was made for an exchange of territory between the Company and

CHAP. XV. the Rajah, or for an adjustment by such other means as should be suited to the occasion, in case it should be found that any districts assigned to either party by the partition treaty of Mysore were inconveniently situated. Such was the substance of the articles from the sixth to the fifteenth; the sixteenth and last providing for the ratification of the treaty by the governor-general.

Thus did the uncontrollable enmity of Tippoo Sultan to the English nation result in a vast acquisition of territory, power, and influence by the people whom he hated, and whom it had been the labour of his life to circumvent. The means taken by him to effect their destruction ended in his own; and, as if to render the retribution more striking, the officer who dealt the final blow, to which Tippoo owed his dethronement and death, had been one of the victims of his tyranny. General Baird had fallen into his hands after the fatal defeat of Colonel Baillie's detachment, and for several years had been subjected to the sufferings and horrors by which imprisonment under Tippoo Sultan was accompanied.

In the new settlement of Mysore, some difficulty was apprehended from the attempts of the poligars, who had been dispossessed by Hyder Ali and Tippoo, to re-establish their claims. It had been endeavoured to guard against this by the mode in which the change was effected. The investment of the Rajah with the character of a sovereign was treated not as the restoration of the old government but the creation of a new one, and the anti-

cipated difficulty was scarcely felt. Some of the commandants of fortresses were anxious to sell their fidelity at a good price; and others, who had collected plunder, delayed surrender to gain time for securing it; but the hostile demonstrations thus rendered necessary were not of sufficient interest to merit recital. The only impediment of importance occurred in the province of Bednore, where an adventurer named Dhoondia gave some disturbance, requiring the dispatch of a force for its suppression. Dhoondia was a patan, who had incurred the resentment of Tippoo by committing depredations on the Sultan's territories. He was at length secured, and the pious zeal of the prince being gratified by the compulsory conversion of his prisoner to the Mahometan faith, Dhoondia made such progress in Tippoo's favour as to be trusted by him with military employment. But his good fortune was of short duration, and for some time before the commencement of the war the convert had been confined in irons. On the fall of Seringapatam the humanity of the conquerors set him at liberty, and Dhoondia availed himself of his newly-gained freedom by an early flight from the place of his imprisonment, a movement to which his liberators would be likely to attach little importance. Resuming his old habits, Dhoondia, on the disbanding of Tippoo's army, collected a few cavalry, with whom he took the direction of Bednore. The state of the country was not unfavourable for gathering recruits, and he soon found his band of followers considerably

CHAP. XV. increased by men anxious for service of some kind, and not troubled with any acute sensibility of conscience in relation to its character. By the influence of motives which it is not easy to explain, certain killadars were prevailed upon to betray their trusts to him, and in this manner some of the principal places in the province fell into his hands, before it was in the power of General Harris to detach from the army a sufficient force to act against him with effect. In the meanwhile Dhoondia made the best use of the time thus afforded him; he levied heavy contributions on the rich country which lay at his mercy, enforced these exactions by the most unrelenting cruelty, and filled the province with acts of rapine and murder. To stop his career, a light corps of cavalry and native infantry, under the command of Colonel James Dalrymple, moved from Chittledroog, as soon as their services could be spared. They soon fell in with a party of the banditti, consisting of about two hundred and fifty horse and four hundred infantry, which they completely destroyed. The capture by the English force of a fort on the east bank of the river Tungbuddra followed, and not long afterwards another on the west bank was taken. While Colonel Dalrymple was thus engaged, Colonel Stevenson was advancing into Bednore, by another direction, at the head of a light force, composed also of cavalry and native infantry. Simoga was attacked by this force, and carried by assault. On the 17th of August Dhoondia was attacked near Shikar-

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poor, and his cavalry, after sustaining considerable loss, were driven into a river which was situated in their rear. The fort of Shikarpoor at the same time fell into the hands of the English. Dhoondia escaped by crossing the river in a boat, which had been procured for the occasion. He was closely pursued, and compelled to take refuge in the Mahratta territory, where he encamped with the remnant of his followers. There would have been no difficulty in taking or destroying him, had the British force been at liberty to pass beyond the Mahratta boundary; but this the governor-general had forbidden, and Colonel Stevenson accordingly halted his detachment. CHAP. XV.

But Dhoondia was not in a position where he could calculate on either safety or repose. A robber and a murderer by profession, he had limited the exercise of his occupations to no particular districts. Wherever his foot had pressed he left records of his presence in acts of violence and blood. The Mahrattas, it appeared, had some accounts of this character against him, and they proceeded very summarily to administer a degree of punishment, which, if inadequate to the crimes of Dhoondia, was quite in accordance with the temper and habits of the people among whom he sojourned. A chief, commanding a division of the Peishwa's army, paid the wanderer a visit within a few hours after he had pitched his camp within the Mahratta borders, and relieved him of every thing which was necessary either to the future exercise of his trade of plunder, or to the sup-

CHAP. XV. ply of the wants of the passing day. It would be too much to ascribe this visitation to the operation of the moral sense in those who made it. Had the character of Dhoondia been as pure as it was depraved, his fate, under the circumstances of his situation, would have been the same. It was his helplessness, not his crimes, which invited the infliction to which he was subjected; and it would be an injustice to Mahratta ingenuity to suppose that if the Peishwa's servants had been without experience of Dhoondia's acts they would have wanted a pretence for plundering him. But, whatever their motives, they rendered a useful service to the English which the latter power could not itself perform.

A. D. 1799. The great work which had brought the governor-general to Madras having been completed, the necessity for his presence there had ceased, and he returned to Bengal in September. At both presidencies enthusiastic congratulations flowed in upon him, which, as soon as the news of his success could be disseminated, were echoed from every part of the world where an Englishman or a friend of England was to be found.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE remarkable promptitude and energy which the governor-general had displayed in counteracting the designs of Tippoo Sultan might lead to the belief that the accomplishment of this object had occupied his undivided attention. But such was far from being the fact. Other affairs of weighty importance pressed on his consideration, and among these were the succession to the throne of Tanjore, and the necessary measures for settling the government of that country in a manner which should relieve the people from the oppression to which they had long been subjected. CHAP. XVI.

Some years before the arrival of the Earl of Mornington in India, the Rajah of Tanjore, having been deprived by death of all his legitimate children, provided for the succession in a manner not unfrequent in the East, by adopting a son. The guardianship of the child, and the care of the government during his minority, were assigned by the Rajah to his brother, Ameer Singh; but the views of that personage extended beyond the exercise of a delegated and temporary authority. The death of the Rajah, which occurred soon after the act of

CHAP. XVI. adoption, gave opportunity for the ambition of Ameer Singh to display itself: the title of the youthful successor was forthwith disputed, and the validity of the act under which he claimed denied. Various objections were raised, and the support of the British government being invoked on both sides, the questions at issue were referred by that authority to the decision of a council of pundits learned in Hindoo lore, specially summoned for the occasion. In taking this course, the Company's government had no object in view but to do justice. Nothing had occurred which could lead them to entertain any feeling of partiality or prejudice with regard to either of the candidates for the musnud, and the answer to the questions upon which the decision of the conflicting claims depended was awaited both at Madras and Bengal with perfect indifference. Unhappily the desire of the British authorities to do justice was not aided by the knowledge necessary for its guidance; and in resorting to the advice of native expounders of the law, they had done little to guard themselves from error. The contest between a child and a man of mature age was an unequal one; and the decision of the learned pundits was in favour of the party who had the better means of maintaining his claim and the readier opportunity of rewarding their services. The British government presumed not to understand the Hindoo law better than its recognized expositors, and the brother of the deceased Rajah was declared the lawful successor to the musnud, to the exclusion of the adopted child. The

former was accordingly placed on the throne, but not without a distinct intimation of the expectation entertained by the British government that the excluded infant would be protected and maintained in a manner suitable to the hopes which he had been led to cherish. Nothing could be more easy, nothing more natural, than to promise compliance with the wishes of those who had the power of bestowing or withholding a kingdom; and, as far as professions were concerned, Ameer Singh gave to his patrons full satisfaction. But he went no farther. Complaints of the treatment received by his infant rival soon became loud and frequent. He was subjected to rigorous confinement in a dark and unhealthy place, and his mind was left unimproved even by the narrow measure of instruction usually accorded to oriental youth. The governor of Madras at length felt called upon to address to Ameer Singh a letter, suggesting the necessity of taking proper care of the health and education of the boy. By this time Ameer Singh had become impressed with a full sense of his own dignity, and the receipt of the letter filled him with indignation. He had promised, indeed, to comply with the wishes of the English government on the subject, but he now treated its mediation as an improper interference with his domestic arrangements. He alleged that, during the reign of his brother, his own situation had been worse than that of the person in whose behalf he was addressed, and that the British government had never interfered in his favour. Such,

CHAP. XVI. indeed, was the spirit in which the communication was received, that it was found necessary immediately to follow it up by another of more decisive tone. Ameer Singh was called upon, in terms somewhat peremptory, but sufficiently warranted by the circumstances of the case, to extend to the adopted son of his brother certain specified indulgences; and with a view to some better security than oriental promises for the fulfilment of the desire of the British government, it was intimated that a small guard of Company's sepoys had been directed to attend on his person. After various attempts on the part of the British resident to induce Ameer Singh to yield compliance to the wishes of the British government, they were ultimately carried into effect almost by force. It could not be expected that the hatred borne by Ameer Singh to his rival would thereby be abated; and he continued to manifest it by all the means in his power. Further measures for the protection of the persecuted youth became obviously necessary; and a wish which he had expressed to be removed to Madras was gratified. The widows of the deceased Rajah, who had been grievously oppressed by his successor, likewise found a refuge in the Company's territories. One object of their removal was to assist by their influence in forcing upon the British government a reconsideration of its decision in regard to the title of the reigning prince of Tanjore. It was represented, and with great appearance of probability, that the pundits to whose opinion he owed his elevation had been bribed, and the

judgment which they had delivered was challenged. CHAP. XVI.

The British government thereupon deemed it necessary to enter upon a formal examination of the title in dispute. The objections taken to the claim of the adopted son of the former Rajah were three:—First, that at the time the act of adoption was performed the Rajah was in such a state of mental and bodily infirmity as rendered him incapable of duly executing so important a function. The second and third related to points of Hindoo law. It was represented that the boy being an only son, his adoption was on that ground invalid; and that his age exceeded that to which the law restricted the exercise of the privilege. The alleged incapacity of the Rajah was amply disproved. On the remaining questions a number of braminical opinions were obtained, all of them favourable to the claim of the youth whom the deceased prince had destined to succeed him. The adoption of an only son, though admitted to be reprehensible, was declared not to be invalid; it was an act which ought not to be done, but which when done could not lawfully be set aside. The question of age was determined unequivocally and without reserve in favour of the rival of Ameer Singh. And these opinions were not confined to the expounders of Hindoo law in the south of India; they were confirmed by the judgment of their brethren in Bengal, and at the great depository of braminical learning, Benares. The ignorance or the corruption of the pundits, upon whose

CHAP. XVI. sentence the adopted son had been passed by, thus became evident, and it was but just to retract the false step which had formerly been made. These events and inquiries extended through several years, during which Lord Cornwallis and Lord Teignmouth exercised the powers of governor-general, and a series of governors, commencing with Sir Archibald Campbell and ending with Lord Hobart, presided at Madras. There appears throughout to have been a strong leaning on the part of the British authorities in favour of Ameer Singh, and against his youthful competitor. The succession of a brother is undoubtedly more consonant to European feelings than that of a distant relative capriciously invested with a stronger title; but Hindoo feeling is different: and in this case, moreover, the claim of Ameer Singh was vitiated by the fact of his being illegitimate.

The right to the throne of Tanjore had ceased to be matter of doubt when the Earl of Mornington arrived in India. The Court of Directors had resolved to uphold the claims of the lawful candidate, and it only remained to determine the time and mode of carrying their decision into effect. The Earl of Mornington determined that no delay should take place. There was, indeed, no pretence for delay; but had there been any, the reasons in favour of the course resolved upon by the governor-general were amply sufficient to justify its adoption. The causes of the miserable condition of Tanjore required a searching investigation, and it was in contemplation to issue a commission to examine

and report. The governor-general at once perceived that to take such a step while Ameer Singh remained on the musnud would be but a mockery of inquiry. It could not be expected that he would promote researches which, if successful, would have the effect of exposing his own misgovernment; and his continuance on the throne would enable him to throw impediments in the way of the commissioners. He would have had the power not only of protracting their labours, but of rendering them vain. The adopted heir of the deceased Rajah was accordingly placed on the throne. This was comparatively easy; but, in effecting a satisfactory settlement of the country the governor-general experienced difficulties incalculable and almost insurmountable. These did not in any degree arise from the character of the new Rajah, which was amiable and generous, but from the accumulation of abuses under former governments, which had gathered strength proportioned to the time during which they had existed, and the numerous interests which were connected with their preservation. The energy of the governor-general ultimately triumphed over all the obstacles that stood in the way of a settlement; and the result was, that, with the free consent of all parties interested, the British government assumed the entire civil and military administration of Tanjore, a splendid provision being reserved for the Rajah. This arrangement was undoubtedly beneficial to the interests of Great Britain; but it is no exaggeration to say that it was far more beneficial to the people

CHAP. XVI. of Tanjore. It delivered them from the effects of native oppression and European cupidity. It gave them what they had never before possessed—the security derived from the administration of justice. The Rajah, who owed to the British government his previous emancipation from thralldom, insult, and personal danger, was now indebted to the same power for his elevation to a degree of state and splendour which must have fulfilled all his expectations. It was necessary for the purposes of good government that he should retain little of actual power; but in the enjoyment of a splendid revenue, and of a limited degree of military authority, his situation was brightly contrasted with that in which his earlier years were passed. The treaty was concluded on the 25th of October, 1799, and ratified by the governor-general in council on the 29th of November following.

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A change, similar to that made at Tanjore, was effected with regard to the principality of Surat. The city of Surat was one of the first in India in point of commercial importance. There also flocked in vast numbers the pious votaries of the Arabian prophet, in search of the means of transport to the city which every good Mussulman is anxious to behold; and Surat thus came to be spoken of as one of the gates of Mecca. The English at an early period had established a factory at Surat, and about the middle of the seventeenth century had bravely defended not only the Company's factory, but a large part of the town, against an attack of the Mahrattas

under Sevajee. For this service they received the thanks of the Mogul commander. Nearly a century afterwards, the English were invited by the inhabitants to take possession of the castle and the fleet. They hesitated, from an apprehension of incurring the resentment of the Mahrattas, who some years before had subjugated a large portion of the province of Surat, and, more recently, by taking advantage of disputes carried on for the government of the remainder, had established, with respect to the city and the districts attached to it, a claim for chout. Some outrages committed upon the English by those against whom they had been invited to act finally induced the government of Bombay to interfere. The government of the town had long been separated from the command of the castle and of the fleet, and the person who exercised the first agreed to assist the English in obtaining possession of the two latter on condition of being protected in his authority. The government of Bombay had previously been in correspondence with a rival candidate for the civil government, the reigning Nabob being connected with the party whom the English desired to dispossess. But the view of the person to whom the musnud was to have been transferred not being favoured by the influential part of the inhabitants, a compromise was effected, under which the Nabob was to retain his office, and his rival was to be invested with the character of naib or chief manager. Little difficulty was found in carrying this arrangement into effect. The English took

CHAP. XVI. possession of the castle and the fleet, and their assumption of the command was afterwards solemnly confirmed by the imperial court of Delhi. All who had ever exercised any description of authority at Surat, excepting the Mahrattas, had professed to act in the name and under the appointment of the Mogul Emperor. The firman of the Emperor transferred the charge of the castle and the fleet to the English; the Mogul flag consequently continued to float from the castle, and was hoisted at the mast-head of the Company's chief cruizer on the Surat station. The acquisition which the Company had made appears, indeed, to have wanted scarcely any conceivable ground of justification. The movement which they had headed was strictly a popular one; the people of Surat had sought the interference of the government of Bombay, and rejoiced in the change which had taken place. The Emperor of Delhi, who claimed the sovereignty, acquiesced, and appointed the Company his vicegerent. The Nabob professed to be the servant of the Emperor, and could not consistently object to yield obedience to his commands; and he had, moreover, become voluntarily a party to the transfer of the military and naval power to the English. It seems, therefore, that little exception can be taken to the step by which the English first obtained the public and recognized exercise of authority in Surat.

It is not to be believed that the Bombay government, in undertaking the defence of Surat, were actuated solely by a desire to benefit the people, or

to maintain the honour of the Mogul state. They CHAP. XVI.
had undoubtedly views both to political influence and commercial advantage, and it is enough that in gratifying those views they invaded no authority that was founded on right, while they relieved the people of Surat by employing for their defence powers which had previously been exercised for their oppression. As in other cases, the course of events aided the aggrandizement of the Company; and at Surat, while they ostensibly possessed only a portion of the authority of the state, it soon became almost inevitable that they should make provision for the exercise of the whole. This was in truth conceded by the Nabob, when he recognized their right to appoint a naib while he was acknowledged as the chief civil authority. The total wreck of the Mogul empire contributed to increase the power of the Company, and to render it more firm. The Nabob of Surat was unable to maintain himself in his position without their assistance. He had, indeed, no rights but what he derived from the Emperor of Delhi: he was the servant of that monarch, and his fortunes were to be regarded as dependent on those of his master. It is true that, in various cases, the vassals of the Mogul empire took advantage of the fallen state of their superior to establish themselves as independent sovereigns. They thus acted even in the better days of the empire whenever an opportunity offered. But it is obvious that such an usurpation of sovereignty could claim no respect beyond that which the strength of the new

CHAP. XVI. state might be able to command. As to Surat, indeed, the situation of the Company was the same as that of the Nabob. Power was divided between them, and both claimed to hold it under the same sanction. The destruction of the superior, recognized by both, effected, however, a change in their position. They had no longer a common superior; they might continue to acknowledge as their chief a man who was sometimes an outcast and sometimes a prisoner; but, substantially, the two authorities had become independent. The bond, too, which had united them was severed. It was scarcely possible that disputes should be avoided, and who should decide them? None but the parties themselves, by negotiation or by the sword. In cases like that of Surat, where a sovereign becomes permanently unable to protect his dominions, those dominions must be regarded as falling into the state of territory which has never been appropriated, or which, having been appropriated, has been abandoned. Those on the spot will have the best opportunities of securing its possession, and their right is at least as good as that of strangers. The English and the Nabob of Surat were in this case the parties most likely to establish themselves as masters of the place. Their claims on the ground of right were equal. Each had possession of a share of power; but it was impossible that they could continue to use their respective shares on a footing of perfect equality. Though each might abstain from invading the province of the other, the weaker could not fail to feel that he

was dependent on the will of the stronger. The more powerful might concede to the feebler a given portion of power, but the act would be a concession, and the relative position of the parties would be no longer that of equals, accountable even in imagination to a common superior. The stronger would be the lord, the weaker the dependent. In this manner, by the ordinary operation of events, did the English become invested with the dominant power at Surat. They might indeed have renounced it, but only by two modes. They might have withdrawn from Surat altogether, abandoning the commercial advantages arising from their connection with that place, which were then very considerable, or they might have been content to be dependents upon the Nabob. They were not so weak as to choose either. It was impossible to preserve equality, and they chose supremacy rather than dependence. From the time when the English obtained the military command, the succession to the seat of civil government was regulated by them. The office of naib was after a time abolished; but this was an act of favour towards the Nabob, grounded on reasons of expediency on the part of those who conferred it. The Nabobs of Surat were then more strictly dependent upon the English than in the later days of the empire they had even been upon their nominal chief.

When the British government undertook the charge of the defence of Surat, revenue was assigned for defraying the expenses of the duty. It proved insufficient, and it could not be expected

CHAP. XVI. that the Company's government should burden other portions of territory with the charge of preserving Surat from danger. This gave rise to various disputes and negotiations. Other grounds of difference were furnished by the gross mismanagement of that portion of power which had been committed to the Nabob. With the abuses existing under an independent government that of the Company would have possessed no right to interfere; but the intimate connection which subsisted between the English and the Nabob—the nature of that connection, which could be concealed from no one, and the circumstances under which the power of the Company in Surat had been acquired, rendered it an incumbent duty to exercise that power, not only for the advantage of those who held it, but for the promotion, also, to the widest possible extent, of the prosperity and happiness of the people.

With regard both to its own claims and those of the people of Surat, the British government long entertained feelings of dissatisfaction towards the Nabob. The insufficiency of the means placed at their disposal for the defence of the place, and the abuses of the civil administration, had alike furnished grounds of protracted discontent before the arrival of the Earl of Mornington in India. With much reluctance, the reigning Nabob agreed to make some addition to the payment secured to the Company for the defence of the place; but before the arrangement was concluded he died, leaving an infant son, who survived but a short time, and

whose death afforded an opening for the claim of an uncle to succeed to the office. The opportunity was a favourable one for effecting those changes which were indispensably necessary to the good government of the place. The British authorities had long exercised the power of disposing of the office of Nabob at their discretion, as the Mogul Emperor had formerly done ; and though the claims of relationship had been respected, they had never been regarded as conferring a right to the succession. They were still respected, but not to the extent of subjecting the inhabitants of Surat to the evils which they had long endured under native rule. The candidate for the nabobship was unwilling to comply with the requisitions made of him, and the British government determined to assume the entire civil and military administration — a change in which the people of Surat had far greater reason to rejoice than even those by whom it was effected. The person whose claim to the exercise of power was thus set aside was indulged by being elevated to the rank to which he aspired. An ample provision was made for him and the family to which he belonged ; and the only obstacle to improvement being thus removed, the reformation of the wretched institutions of Surat was commenced with promptitude and vigour. Never had there existed greater necessity for such a labour. It was truly stated that “ the frauds, exactions, and mismanagement in the collection of the revenue, the avowed corruption in the administration of justice, and the entire ineffi-

CHAP. XVI. ciency of the police, as manifested in the different tumults which" had "occurred in the city, particularly that excited in 1795," afforded "abundant evidence that the Nabobs were as incompetent to conduct the internal government of the city as to provide for its external defence."* The riot above adverted to was caused by the rival fanaticism of the Mahomedan and Hindoo inhabitants of the city, and was attended with the perpetration of many acts of atrocious barbarity. The Bombay government had given the Nabob some good advice on this occasion, but had not felt at liberty to do more, although the British resident at Surat had strongly urged them to take some decisive measures for the preservation of good order in the city. The Hindoo inhabitants complained loudly of their want of security, alleging that the trade and population of the city entirely depended on the protection of the English. This protection, however, they remarked, had been only nominal since the abolition of the office of naib. While this office was maintained, the person holding it was especially entrusted with the charge of the police of the city, and he was accountable to the British government for the exercise of this as well as of all other powers with which he was invested. The abolition of the office had deprived the Company's government of all power of efficient control, and committed the peace of the city to those who were either unable or unwilling to

* Letter of governor-general in council to government of Bombay, 10th March, 1800.

maintain it. The moral bearings of the question CHAP. XVI.
 are exhibited forcibly and tersely in two short passages of a dispatch on this subject addressed by the government of Bengal to that of Bombay: The “right,” say they, “of disposing of the office of Nabob is accompanied by an indispensable duty of providing a just, wise, and efficient administration for the affairs of Surat; the lapse of the powers of government having left no other party, excepting the Company, in a state to protect the persons and property of the inhabitants of that city.”* And, after adverting to the objects to which the power of the Nabobs ought to have been directed, but which they had signally failed to accomplish, the dispatch continues: “It is obvious that these important objects can only be attained by the Company taking the entire civil and military government of the city into their own hands; and, consequently, it is their duty as well as their right to have recourse to that measure.”†

This is a just view of the case; and Surat affords one instance among many, in which territory and power have been, by the mere force of circumstances, transferred from native hands to those of the East-India Company. The commercial importance of Surat rendered the preservation of peace and order an object of great interest to the Company, which had long maintained there one of its principal stations for the purposes of trade. This led to the interference of the government of Bombay, an interference which, it will be remem-

* Letter, ut supra.

† Ibid.

CHAP. XVI. bered, was invited by the principal inhabitants, who knew the value of a British connection, and who reposed a degree of confidence in the power and good intentions of the Company's servants which the representatives of no other government could inspire. The Mogul Emperor confirmed to the Company the powers of which they had assumed the exercise; the remaining powers of the state were, by the consent of the Nabob, entrusted to a deputy, whom the Company were to name. The Mogul dynasty fell into irretrievable ruin, and the privilege of nominating the Nabob of Surat passed by natural consequence into the hands of those who had the means of maintaining their appointment. But this privilege they did not abuse. So far from seeking to increase their power, they voluntarily relinquished a portion of it which they might, without an effort, have retained. The office of naib was abolished, and the Nabob invested with the uncurtailed exercise of those functions which were vested in his office. The results were, that the administration of affairs fell into utter disorder, and that neither the state nor the persons and property of individuals were secure. Then, and not before, the Company undertook the duties previously assigned to the Nabob; and, as far as the people were concerned, the only ground for regret was, that this step had not been sooner taken. One good effect, indeed, attended the delay: the moderation and forbearance of the Company's government were amply attested. The new arrangements at Surat were embodied in a

treaty, which was signed by the parties interested on the 13th of May, 1800.

CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 1800.

About the time of the settlement of the government of Surat, it became necessary to take measures for the preservation of the Mysore frontier from predatory attacks. The danger arose from Dhoondia Waugh, who had found means to repair the damage which he had sustained from the Mah-rattas, and to place himself in a condition to resume the exercise of his occupation. The necessity of putting down this adventurer was urgent, with a view not only to the actual inconvenience occasioned by his ravages, but also to the possible consequences of allowing them to be perpetrated with impunity. Dhoondia was endeavouring to raise himself from the position of a vulgar robber to that of the head of a political confederacy. The discontented within the Company's territories and those of their allies were invited, by letters written in his name, to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by his invasion of Mysore, and rise simultaneously against the objects of their hate. Dhoondia, though in himself, as he was justly termed by Colonel Wellesley, "a despicable enemy,"* thus became a formidable one; and both his character and his attempt may be regarded as having gained something of dignity from the fact of the greatest general of modern times having taken the field against him.

Dhoondia having established himself in the ter-

* Letter to the Earl of Mornington; Duke of Wellington's Despatches, vol. i. page 53.

CHAP. XVI. territories of the Peishwa, where he had seized and garrisoned several forts, it became necessary to obtain the consent of the Mahratta chief to the passage of the British troops over the boundaries in search of the freebooter. This was at first refused, under pretence that orders had been given for his expulsion. Subsequently an attempt was made to limit the number of troops to be employed against Dhoondia, by a promise that a Mahratta force should co-operate with them. Finally, and with reluctance, the required permission for the entrance of any number of British troops that might be necessary for the proposed object was accorded.

A.D. 1800. Colonel Wellesley entered upon the duty which devolved on him with characteristic energy; and after driving the enemy before him for some weeks, and capturing several places which had been occupied by Dhoondia, succeeded on the 30th July in surprising a division of his army while encamped on the right bank of the Malpoorba. The attack was crowned by the most complete success. Not a man within the camp escaped; and a quantity of baggage, elephants, camels, horses, and bullocks, became the prey of the assailants.

After the destruction of this portion of his army, Dhoondia retired with the remainder to the opposite side of the Malpoorba. This operation was not effected without much difficulty. Being without boats, he had made his way through jungles to the sources of the river, round which he had passed. The transport of the guns and stores of the English

army by such a route would have been extremely inconvenient: it was deemed preferable to wait the construction of boats; but in the mean time a detachment, lightly equipped, was dispatched to harass Dhoondia's rear, and endeavour to cut off part of his baggage. A brigade was also dispatched to occupy the passes of the river most likely to be fordable, and thus to guard against Dhoondia recrossing with any considerable number of followers. This force in its progress gained possession of several forts which were held by parties in the interest of the adventurer. At one of these places, named Sirhitty, an extraordinary instance of cool and determined bravery occurred. The outer gate of the fort was attacked and carried. The inner gate was next to be gained, but the passage was found too narrow to admit a gun-carriage. This difficulty, however, was not suffered to check the progress of the assailants: the gun was instantly taken off the carriage, and, under a very heavy fire from the fort, transported by a body of artillerymen, led by Sir John Sinclair, to the gate, which was very shortly burst open.

The precautions which had been taken to prevent Dhoondia crossing the river were rendered unavailing by its sudden fall, which enabled the adventurer to enter the territories of the Nizam. Thither he was followed by Colonel Wellesley, with as much speed as was consistent with the difficulties attending the movement and the arrangements necessary for effecting the junction of the various portions of the army. The campaign was now approaching to

CHAP. XVI. a close. On the 10th of September Colonel Wellesley encountered Dhoondia's army at a place called Conahgull. He was strongly posted, his rear and flank being covered by a village and a rock; but one impetuous charge put his troops to the rout, the whole body dispersed, and were scattered in small parties over the face of the country. Many were killed, and among the number was the author of the mischief, Dhoondia himself. Part of the enemy's baggage was taken in his camp, and another portion, with two guns, all that remained to him, in the pursuit. Thus terminated the career of Dhoondia Waugh, a man whose views were directed to higher fortunes than he was fated to attain. He assumed the title of king of the two worlds, and elevated some of his officers to the rank of azoffs and nabobs. From beginnings not more respectable, states and dynasties had previously sprung up in India; and Dhoondia Waugh might have been a second Hyder Ali, had his progress not received a timely check. Sir Thomas Munro, writing to Colonel Wellesley, on his fall, said:—"A campaign of two months finished his empire, and one of the same duration has put an end to the earthly grandeur, at least, of the sovereign of the two worlds. Had you and your regicide army been out of the way, Dhoondia would undoubtedly have become an independent and powerful prince, and the founder of a new dynasty of cruel and treacherous sultans."*

* Gleig's *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*, vol. iii. pp. 149, 150.

The news from Europe at this time was highly unfavourable. The triumphs of the French there would, it was expected, leave them at liberty to direct their arms to more distant quarters; and India or Egypt, it was apprehended, would be among the points selected. To be prepared for danger, wherever it might occur, the governor-general (now, by the well-merited favour of the Crown, the Marquis Wellesley) proposed to concentrate the strength of his Majesty's squadron in the Indian seas, together with such an amount of military force as India could spare, at some point whence they might be able to proceed with promptitude and facility to any place where their services might be wanted. The point chosen was Trincomalee; and three European regiments, a thousand Bengal volunteers, with details of European and native infantry, were dispatched thither; while Admiral Rainier, who commanded the squadron, was earnestly requested to co-operate in the arrangement, by proceeding to Trincomalee without delay. The employment of the force thus assembled was to be determined by circumstances. It was to proceed either up the Red Sea, to co-operate with any British force that might be employed in Egypt from the side of the Mediterranean; to advance to any point in India menaced by the French, should they dispatch a force thither; or to be directed to the reduction of the Mauritius. This latter object was one which the information of the governor-general led him to believe might be undertaken with the best prospects of

CHAP. XVI. success, and it was one of which the importance would fully justify the attempt. In every war between Great Britain and France, from the time when the two countries became rivals in the East, the possessions of the latter in the Indian seas had furnished abundant means for annoying the trade of the former. Numerous privateers, fitted out at the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, swept the ocean and enriched their owners, at the expense alike of the East-India Company and of those engaged in the local trade. While Lord Hobart administered the government of Madras, the dispatch of an expedition from that presidency for an attack on the Mauritius was contemplated; but the delicate state of the British interest in India rendered it a point of prudence to relinquish the design at that time. The object, however, was steadily kept in view by the Marquis Wellesley; and the Mauritius would most probably have been attacked but for the refusal of Admiral Rainier to co-operate. This refusal appeared at first to be grounded on an opinion that it would be injudicious to employ any considerable portion of the land and sea forces on distant objects of enterprize; but ultimately another reason was permitted to transpire. The admiral held, or professed to hold, the extraordinary principle that the expedition could not be undertaken without the express command of the King, signified in the usual official form to the British government in India and to the commanders of his Majesty's forces. Admiral Rainier, it seems, expected that

the governor-general would dissent from his view; and the expectation was most just and reasonable. That so monstrous a principle should have been gravely maintained is sufficiently startling; that it should have been regarded as sound and true by any human being, whose education and habits qualified him to form an opinion on such a subject, is utterly incredible. Admiral Rainier, however, professed so to regard it; and the governor-general therefore condescended to honour the objection with an elaborate answer. "If," said he, "the ground of your excellency's dissent from the proposed expedition to the Isle of France be admitted as a general rule to govern the conduct of the military and naval service in these distant possessions during the existence of war, I apprehend that the greatest advantage must result from thence to the cause of the enemy. It is an established maxim of state, as well as an unqualified principle of public duty, that in time of war all public officers should employ their utmost endeavours to reduce the power and resources of the common enemy of the state, and should avail themselves of every advantage which circumstances may present for the advancement of the interests of their country by the vigorous prosecution of hostilities. In remote possessions the exigency of this duty increases in proportion to the distance from the parent state, and to the consequent difficulty of obtaining from home express and precise orders applicable to the various emergencies

CHAP. XVI.

CHAP. XVI. that must arise in the course of war. If no advantage can ever be taken of the temporary or accidental weakness of the enemy's possessions in India without express orders from England, signified through the usual official channels, not only to the government of India but to the commanders of his Majesty's land and sea forces, it is evident that opportunities of reducing the enemy's power and resources must frequently be lost, without the hope of recovery, by reference for formal commands to the source of sovereign authority at home. In the present instance, an extraordinary and fortunate accident had disclosed to me the weak and almost defenceless state of the most important possessions remaining to France in this quarter of the globe. In my judgment, I should have failed in my duty towards my King and country if I had waited for his Majesty's express commands, or for his orders signified through the official channels established by Parliament for the government of India, before I had proceeded to take the necessary steps for availing myself of the critical posture of the French interests within the reach of the force entrusted to my control." After some observations on the powers and responsibility of the governor-general in India, the marquis appeals to his own conduct under similar circumstances, and its results. "Of the rule," says he, "which I assert I have furnished an example in my own practice; and if the principle which your excellency has adopted had governed

my conduct, the conquest of Mysore would not have been achieved.”* CHAP. XVI.

Some time before this dispute, the attention of the governor-general had been turned towards Batavia. He had direct instructions from the King for bringing this settlement under the protection of the British crown, on terms similar to those which had been granted to the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Berbice, and Surinam. It was proposed to effect this by negotiation, and Admiral Rainier was to undertake the task, aided by such an amount of sea and land force as would be sufficient to give weight to his representations. The probability that the required force could be employed more advantageously elsewhere led to the postponement of the attempt; but when the project for attacking the Mauritius was defeated by the perverseness of Admiral Rainier, the views of the governor-general were again turned to Batavia. But the Dutch colony was to enjoy a further period of repose. Soon after the fall of Seringapatam, the Marquis Wellesley had suggested to the ministers at home the practicability of employing a force from India, to co-operate with any that might be dispatched from Great Britain, against the French in Egypt; and it has been seen that the assemblage of troops at Trincomalee was made with reference to this among other objects. The suggestion was adopted; and the governor-general was instructed to dispatch

* The governor-general to Vice-Admiral Rainier, Feb. 5, 1801.

CHAP. XVI. to Egypt, by way of the Red Sea, a force of about
— a thousand Europeans and two thousand native infantry, under the command of an active and intelligent officer. These instructions were immediately acted upon. The force at Ceylon, strengthened by sixteen hundred native infantry which had been assembled at Bombay for foreign service, was entrusted to the command of General Baird, and the whole embarked with all practicable expedition. A squadron of Company's cruisers, under Admiral Blankett, with a small body of troops, had sailed for Egypt some time before. General Baird and his army, after performing a march of extraordinary peril and difficulty across the desert, proceeded down the Nile to Rhonda, from whence they advanced to Rosetta. But the fate of the French attempt upon Egypt had been previously decided; and the Indian reinforcement enjoyed no opportunity of gaining distinction, except by its patient and cheerful submission to hardships and toils, and the ready surrender by the native portion of the troops of their prejudices to their sense of military duty.

A.D. 1801. The expedition to Egypt was dispatched early in the year 1801. In the month of July, in the same year, a change took place in the affairs of the Carnatic, which will require reference to a series of events of prior occurrence connected with that division of the south of India. The death of Mahomet Ali during the administration of Sir John Shore, and the dispute between the British authorities to which it gave rise, have been noticed. Maho-

met Ali was succeeded by his son, Omdut-ul-Omrah, who, from the commencement of his reign, manifested a disposition to pursue the same ruinous policy which had marked that of his father. The Marquis Wellesley, on his arrival from England, occupied a considerable portion of the time which he spent at Madras in vain attempts to obtain the prince's consent to the arrangements necessary for extricating himself and his subjects from the wretchedness in which both were involved. The Nabob was obstinately bent on resisting all change, and the governor-general left Madras with a conviction that negotiation was useless. It was, however, obvious that, without the adoption of some new arrangements, it would be impossible to secure the Company from loss, to save the Nabob from ruin, or to rescue the oppressed inhabitants of the country from the intensity of misery in which they were involved.

The war with Tippoo commenced, and with it the necessity for all the aid which the Nabob could afford to his British ally. At this period the conduct of the Nabob's officers, with regard to the collecting of supplies for the use of the British army, indicated a total absence of friendly feeling on the part of the prince, if the acts of the servants were to be viewed as furnishing any evidence of the wishes of their master. They were for the most part inactive. Those who made any exertions directed them to obstruct, not to facilitate, the supply of the wants of the British government. The Nabob was

CHAP. XVI. not sparing in professions of friendship, and he even agreed to advance a considerable sum of money for the use of the army, on specified conditions. The conditions were assented to, but the money was not forthcoming, and but for the opportune arrival of treasure from Bengal, the consequences of the disappointment might have been seriously inconvenient.

After Lord Macartney's plan for exercising the administration of the Carnatic territory had been abandoned, an attempt was made to adjust the claims of the Company and the Nabob by a treaty concluded by Sir Archibald Campbell; but the execution of its provisions was soon found to be impracticable, and its securities worthless. A new treaty, more indulgent to the Nabob, was concluded by Lord Cornwallis: one article of which treaty gave to the Company, in the event of war breaking out in the Carnatic or the contiguous countries, a right to the exercise of full authority within the Nabob's dominions, except with respect to certain jaghires. This treaty was in force at the period under notice; and on commencing the war with Tippoo, the governor-general, by virtue of that article, might at once have assumed the entire control of the affairs of the Carnatic. With great moderation he abstained from the immediate exercise of this undoubted right, and only took advantage of the occasion to endeavour to gain the Nabob's assent to arrangements at least as beneficial to himself as to the Company. The governor-general addressed

to him a despatch of considerable length, adverting to the dislike entertained by the Nabob and his father to the assumption of the administration of the Carnatic by the Company, and to the desire of the British government to shew respect for their feelings to the utmost extent consistent with security; pointing out mildly, but distinctly and forcibly, the vices of the Nabob's administration, and the general ruin that could not fail to follow; and complaining of the violation of the treaty of Lord Cornwallis, more especially by a practice which had notoriously prevailed, of granting assignments of revenue on the districts which formed the security for the Nabob's payments to the Company—a practice not only inconsistent with the purpose for which they had been pledged, but in contravention of an express provision of the treaty, that no such assignments should be granted. The governor-general referred to the moderation shewn in relaxing the provisions of the treaty concluded by Sir Archibald Campbell, and placing the Nabob in the more favourable position secured to him by the later treaty, urging that, as the Company's government then waived an undeniable right under a subsisting treaty, and consented to a new arrangement at the solicitation of the Nabob, and for his benefit, that government had a just claim to expect that, in representing the necessity of further modification, its views and intentions should be judged with the same liberality which Lord Cornwallis exercised towards those of Mahomet Ali. These points being

CHAP. XVI. sufficiently pressed, the governor-general proceeded to enumerate the principles of the proposed arrangement. It was designed to extend to every branch of the Nabob's affairs connected with his relation to the Company, and by this comprehensiveness to guard, as far as precaution could effect such an object, against future misunderstanding ; to provide to the utmost practicable extent against the necessity for any further change, and to relieve the Carnatic from the inconveniences of a divided government or of a fluctuating or precarious authority.

An enumeration of details followed, and the points believed to be most interesting to the Nabob were first noticed—the adjustment of his debt with the Company and of certain claims on his part of a pecuniary nature, arising from various sources. Modes of arranging these having been suggested, the governor-general declared himself ready to relinquish the right of the Company to assume the entire government of the Carnatic during the existing war, or any that might thereafter occur, on condition of a territory equal to securing the amount of the monthly payments to the Company for which the Nabob was liable, being placed in perpetuity under the exclusive management and authority of the Company. If the required territory should produce more than the amount of revenue anticipated from it, the surplus was to be paid over to the Nabob, while, on the other hand, if from an unfavourable season or any other casualty a deficiency were to arise, the Company were to bear the loss,

and the Nabob to be entirely exonerated from charge on this account. The proposal included other points of detail relating to the defence of the country and the satisfaction of the private debts of the Nabob, some of which were reserved for consideration at a more advanced period of discussion. CHAP. XVI.

The answer of the Nabob was long, but little satisfactory. Its tone was somewhat lofty. The Nabob positively refused to consent to any modification of the treaty of 1792. This might have been contemplated from his previous conduct; but his refusal was associated with an application which certainly could not have been looked for. His letter was written after the fall of Seringapatam, and the consequent transfer of the dominions of Tippoo. The Nabob availed himself of these events to set up a claim to share in the distribution of the conquered countries. He who was unable to govern his actual possessions was desirous of adding to them, and of extending more widely the wretchedness which overshadowed the dominions which already acknowledged him as their master. This will not appear very extraordinary. Ambition seeks its gratification, far more commonly, in subjecting extended territories to the miseries of a bad government, than in bestowing within narrower limits the blessings of peace, order, and security. The happiness of the governed enters not into the calculations of grasping despotism. But the reasonableness and decency of the request of the Nabob at the time when it was preferred were eminently illustrated by

CHAP. XVI. the fact, that within the recesses of Seringapatam, opened to the view of the conquerors by the success which attended their efforts, was found evidence most satisfactorily convicting the Nabob Omdut-ul-Omrah and his father, Mahomet Ali, of having perfidiously violated their engagements with the British government by intriguing with Tippoo Sultan against that power. This evidence was contained in a voluminous correspondence between Tippoo and two of his vakeels, named Gholaum Ali Khan and Reza Ali Khan, who accompanied the hostages to Madras at the close of the war undertaken by Lord Cornwallis.

The subject was taken up soon after the arrival of the vakeels at Madras. In an early letter they gave their master an account of an interview which had taken place between the Nabob, Mahomet Ali, the two princes, and themselves. On that occasion the Nabob was represented not only to have professed the warmest attachment to Tippoo, which might have been the effect of hollow courtesy, but to have reprobated the war then just concluded, and to have declared that it had been undertaken by the allied powers for the subversion of the Mahometan religion. This charge was not very probable, seeing that the Nizam was a party to the war; but while it could not fail to be agreeable to Tippoo by leading him to regard himself as a martyr in the cause of the prophet, it also gratified the malignant feelings which Mahomet Ali had long entertained towards his British

protectors. The praise of Tippoo was enhanced by contrasting with his conduct that of the Nizam, whose future retribution for aiding in the destruction of religion was darkly shadowed forth. According to the vakeels, Mahomet Ali did not confine himself to general expressions of sympathy with the Sultan and his cause. At the first and the last meetings he expressed the most earnest wishes for the establishment of relations of friendship and harmony between himself and Tippoo, on the ground of community of religious belief, and with a view to the maintenance of the faith of Mahomet. Tippoo, as may be supposed, was pleased with these manifestations, and directed his vakeels to give them all encouragement; and in two letters, which some months later he addressed respectively to Mahomet Ali and Omdut-ul-Omrah, he professed the most entire confidence in their exertions in the common cause.

These discourses and communications would be sufficient to establish the state of feeling with which the Nabob and his son regarded the various parties concerned in the war with Tippoo; but they might have been considered nothing more than the purposeless overflowings of uncontrollable hate, had not the acts of the two princes corresponded with their professions. Mahomet Ali maintained secret emissaries in Bengal, to collect information for his use. From these persons he learned that the British resident at Poonah had apprized his government that Tippoo was intriguing with the Mahrattas. This

CHAP. XVI. **article of intelligence was duly communicated to one of the vakeels of Tippoo, accompanied by a friendly intimation of the impolicy of the course which his master was pursuing, and an urgent admonition to discontinue it until a more favourable time, which was judged not to be far distant. Lord Cornwallis, it was represented, would soon go to Europe, the hostage princes would return to their father, and the payments of Tippoo would be completed. "After his lordship's departure, the liquidation of the kists and other points, whatever" might be "his highness's pleasure," would, it was declared, "be right and proper." It is impossible to ascribe this advice to any friendly feeling towards the British government. It is true, that it was desirable for that government that Tippoo's intrigues should be defeated; but the communication to that prince of the fact that his operations were known and observed could only have the effect of putting him on his guard, and inducing him not to relinquish his designs, but to postpone their execution till a more convenient time. Such, indeed, is the tone of the Nabob's advice. He did not tell his friend that he was doing wrong in intriguing against the British government, but that he was incurring danger. His language is not—relinquish altogether your designs at Poonah; but, defer them till the man by whom you have been vanquished has left the country, till the English have been lulled into quiescence by the liquidation of their pecuniary claims, till your sons are out of their power, and then take your own course. Well did**

the Nabob know what that course would be, and CHAP. XVI.
cordially did he approve it.

This was not the only instance in which the Nabob gave the Sultan intelligence and advice. He communicated to him the intended march of British troops against Pondicherry, on the commencement of war between the English and the French, and warned the Sultan to be cautious as to the manner in which he carried on his intercourse with the latter people—not to discontinue it, but to avoid written communications—there being no objection, as the Nabob is reported to have stated, to verbal communications in case of necessity. As the Nabob had before cautioned Tippoo against connecting himself with native powers, he now exercised the same friendly office with regard to the European enemies of the English. Was the Nabob apprehensive that Tippoo's consultations with the French would cause harm to his English ally? He knew it, under the circumstances, to be impossible. It was for the safety of Tippoo—it was to prevent his prematurely risking the vengeance of the British government that the admonition was given. To Tippoo he looked as the chief support of a future great Mahometan confederacy to drive the strangers from India, and he feared that the success of this magnificent plan might be endangered by the imprudence of the person who was, at a proper season, to undertake its management.

To a certain extent the evidence of the criminal intercourse carried on by Mahomet Ali and his son

CHAP. XVI. — with Tippoo Sultan depends on the credibility of Tippoo's vakeels : they might invent, or they might exaggerate. The possibility, however, of their having had recourse to either mode of deception applies only to the general expressions of friendship attributed by them to the Nabob—the more material parts of the evidence are unaffected. In apprizing Tippoo that his intrigues at Poona were known to the British Government—in informing him of the meditated attempt of the English upon Pondicherry, is it conceivable that if they were not indebted to the Nabob for the knowledge which they communicated, they should, for no apparent purpose, have given him a degree of credit which they might have claimed for their own wariness and activity? Would they not have been glad to have added to their claims upon the Sultan's favour, by shewing him how zealously they watched over his interests, and what admirable means they possessed of becoming acquainted with the counsels of his enemies? The innocence of the Nabob and his son, therefore, cannot be inferred, without giving credit to veteran diplomatists, and those oriental diplomatists, for a degree of disregard to their own reputation and interest, as extraordinary as it would be devoid of motive or rational end. If the representations of the vakeels, as to the share of the Nabob in these communications, were false, their proceedings would be too absurd for criticism or conjecture.

There is thus no reasonable mode of evading the conclusion, that the more important portions of the

reports of the vakeels to their master were true, CHAP. XVI.
and those reports clearly establish the hostile feelings of the Nabob towards the English. It should be remembered, that by the subsisting treaty between the English and that prince, he was restrained from carrying on any negotiation or correspondence with any state, European or native, without the consent of the Company. His intercourse with Tippoo, whatever its aim or nature, was consequently a breach of his engagements—an offence greatly aggravated by its obviously hostile tendency. To facilitate the purposes of this unlawful correspondence, a cipher of names was prepared, the key to which was found in Seringapatam. This paper appears to have been drawn up by Omdut-ul-Omrah, who during the life of his father was deeply engaged in the intrigue with Tippoo, and who seems to have continued after the death of his parent to maintain for some time his illicit intercourse with that prince.

The discovery of the documents relating to these transactions suggested the propriety of endeavouring to elucidate them by an examination of some of the servants of Tippoo. Among these were the two vakeels, whose temporary residence at Madras had afforded opportunity for opening a correspondence between Tippoo and Mahomet Ali. The duty of conducting the examination was entrusted to two experienced servants of the Company, Mr. Webbe and Colonel Close. Gholau Ali Khan endeavoured to evade the objects of the inquiry, by affecting to

CHAP. XVI. have fallen into a state of dotage and imbecility. Ali Reza Khan was more candid and communicative, but little of importance was elicited. It was represented, however, that a marriage between the two houses had been one of the subjects of negotiation; and the vakeels endeavoured to shew that all the secret communications which had taken place related to this subject. But they did not agree as to the party from whom the overture came; and if such an engagement really formed a subject of discussion, it was certainly not the only one, nor was it of such a nature as to require the protection of a secret cipher, which cipher, too, was obviously framed for application to political purposes. Further, if the overture, as one of the vakeels affirmed, came from Arcot, the desire there manifested to form an alliance with the bitter and implacable enemy of the English could only be regarded as an additional evidence of hostility to that people.

The investigation of the evidence of the Nabob's treachery required time; and, when completed, it was obviously desirable, in a matter so delicate and so liable to misrepresentation, to avoid acting without due deliberation and a full consideration of consequences. There were also motives connected with a pending negotiation with the Nizam for some delay. At length, on the 28th May, 1801, the Marquis Wellesley addressed to the governor of Fort St. George, Lord Clive,* a despatch, commu-

* Son of the distinguished founder of the Anglo-Indian empire.

nicating his determination as to the final adjustment of the affairs of the Carnatic. It was clear, that if the perfidy of Mahomet Ali had been discovered during his life, the British government would have been justified in inflicting punishment on its treacherous dependent, and providing for itself security. Omdut-ul-Omrah had, on the part of his father, negotiated the treaty with Lord Cornwallis: he had also been confederate with his father in the machinations carried on against his British ally. Omdut-ul-Omrah was, indeed, substantially a party to the treaty; for it secured to him the right of succession under the same conditions and obligations which attached to the right of his father. The treaty had been violated by Mahomet Ali—it had been violated by Omdut-ul-Omrah both before the death of his father and subsequently to that event. No confidence could be reposed in one who had afforded so many proofs of hostility and treachery—no safety could be ensured without the annihilation of his power. The British government, released by the acts of the other contracting parties from the obligations of Lord Cornwallis's treaty, was bound to look solely to its own defence and security. It had, by the default of the Nabob and his father, acquired a clear right to establish any system for the administration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic which might appear advisable: all the impediments which respect for the rights or feelings of the Nabob had previously opposed to improvement had vanished before the discoveries

CHAP. XVI. made at Seringapatam. How was the discretion thus placed in the hands of the Company's government to be exercised? Experience had but too well proved that power in the hands of the Nabob was but an engine of mischief. It had constantly been employed by him to the detriment of the Company, of his people, and of himself. Justice to the first, charity to the two latter, alike required that the Nabob should be divested of the authority which, if the future were to be judged by the past, he would be certain to abuse. The governor-general decided that the Company should assume the government of the Carnatic, and that the Nabob should become a stipendiary upon its revenues. He could not decide otherwise, without betraying the interests which he was sworn to protect.

The despatch addressed by the Marquis Wellesley to Lord Clive was accompanied by a letter to Omdut-ul-Omrah, which, after adverting to the long suspension of all communication on the part of the governor-general beyond the transmission of ordinary compliments, explained the cause to be the discoveries made at Seringapatam, and referred the Nabob to Lord Clive for information as to the steps about to be taken in consequence of those discoveries. Motives of humanity prevented this letter from reaching the Nabob. On its arrival at Madras the prince was labouring under mortal disease; and from an apprehension that the communication might aggravate his complaint and accelerate its fatal termination, all knowledge of the intentions of the

British government was withheld. But it being understood that some members of his family had introduced armed men into the palace, with the view of advancing their own objects on the occurrence of the death of the prince, if not before, Lord Clive deemed it expedient to dispatch a party of the Company's troops to take possession of the principal gateway. This was effected without resistance; and it being explained to Omdut-ul-Omrah that the object of the movement was the preservation of order, he was perfectly satisfied. On the 15th July he died. Mr. Webbe and Colonel Close, immediately proceeded to the palace, where they were met by some of the deceased Nabob's officers. It was stated that the Nabob had left a will, but some difficulty was raised in the way of producing it. The British deputies, however, insisting on its being brought forward, it was at length exhibited. On being read, it appeared that Omdut-ul-Omrah had appointed a reputed son, known as Ali Hussein, to succeed him in the possession of all his rights, possessions, and property, including the government of the Carnatic. The British deputies then requested a private conference with two confidential khans, who stood high in the confidence of the late Nabob, and who were nominated in his will as advisers of his heir in the administration of affairs. To these functionaries the deputies stated the nature of the discoveries made at Seringapatam. The khans received the communication with the appearance of great surprise, and endeavoured to explain away the

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CHAP. XVI. evidence on which the charges against the late Nabob and his father rested. The strong professions of friendship for Tippoo were declared not to pass the bounds of ordinary civility. The cipher offered greater difficulty; and the khans had no better excuse to bring forward than the very probable suggestion that the paper containing the key had been placed in the archives of Tippoo by some enemy of Omdut-ul-Omrah, with the view of prejudicing that prince in the estimation of the British authorities.

The object of the khans was obviously to obtain a protracted discussion of the question, in the hope that some favourable chance might suspend the resentment of the British government. This was seen and frustrated by the deputies, who, after referring to the intention entertained of demanding from Omdut-ul-Omrah satisfaction and security, and explaining why it had not previously been acted upon, demanded to know whether the khans, on the part of the reputed son of the deceased Nabob, were disposed to an adjustment of the claims of the British government by an amicable negotiation. They answered by making abundant professions of respect for the British government, declaring the family of Omdut-ul-Omrah dependent on its protection, and dwelling on the impossibility of their resorting to any other than amicable means of settlement; but avoided any direct answer to the question proposed to them. The day was now considerably advanced, and the khans heartily tired of

the conference. To cut it short, they urged the necessity of their attending to the funeral of the departed Nabob, and to the preparations requisite for transferring his remains to Trichinopoly. This being pressed, on the grounds of public decorum and regard for the feelings of the Nabob's family, the deputies did not feel at liberty to resist the desire of the khans, and the conference terminated without any positive answer being given to the proposal made on behalf of the British government. It was renewed on the following day, when the deputies distinctly explained, that the only basis on which the British government could recognize the reputed son of the Nabob, was the entire transfer of the civil and military administration of the Carnatic to the Company. The khans made the obvious answer, that such a transfer would be a virtual annihilation of the office of Nabob. The deputies replied, that the power of assuming the government in certain cases had been secured to the Company by the existing treaty, and that which preceded it; that the power had actually been exercised, and yet that the rank and dignity of the Nabob had never been impugned. This interview was long, and much of it was occupied by desultory conversation, the khans evincing great anxiety to divert attention from the main points at issue, and great tact in effecting their object. Ultimately they requested a postponement of the discussion for a day, to allow of their consulting the various branches of the Nabob's family; and the British deputies yielded

CHAP. XVI. their assent, with an intimation that, at the time specified, they should expect a determinate answer.

The answer given at the ensuing meeting was not such as the deputies had required—a simple acceptance or rejection of the proposal made by the British government. The khans stated that the entire family of the late Nabob, as well as his ministers, having been assembled to consider the proposal, the result of their deliberations was, a conviction that, notwithstanding the decided language in which it was submitted, the British government would be disposed to consent to a modification of the terms required for its security in the Carnatic; and they accordingly produced a counter-proposal, which they desired might be transmitted to Lord Clive. The deputies reiterated the assurance which they had already given, that they had full power of rejecting any proposal inconsistent with the principle previously laid down by them as the basis of adjustment, and that no other could be admitted. They warned the khans of the consequences which must follow the rejection of their plan; and finally intimated that, in a question which related exclusively to the interests of the late Nabob's reputed son, they were desirous of receiving from himself the answer which was to determine his future situation. The khans manifested great dislike to this proposal. They urged as objections the youth of the heir—though he was nearly eighteen years of age—his inexperience, the fear of his mother, and the recent occurrence of his father's death. But

the deputies were persevering, and a conference with Ali Hussein was at length fixed for the following day. During this discussion, the khans stated that the subject of the evidence discovered at Seringapatam had been agitated in the durbar for more than twelve months, and that measures had been taken for justifying the conduct of Omdut-ul-Omrah. An instructive commentary was thus afforded on the surprise expressed by the khans when the discoveries were first mentioned to them by the British deputies ; and a most satisfactory test of the degree of credit to be attached to any thing they might state, or leave to be inferred from their deportment. Indeed it was incredible that the discovery should be unknown in the court of Omdut-ul-Omrah. Waiving all argument derived from his knowledge of the probability of such discovery, inasmuch as any such argument must proceed upon an assumption of his guilt, it was not to be believed that a subject which the British authorities had been for months employed in investigating, which had given rise to the appointment of a special commission for the examination of witnesses, that had not only entered upon its duties but had concluded them and reported the result, should never have attracted the attention of the person most interested in it, or of any of his servants. The exhibition of such extreme ignorance and apathy by any court in the world could not be credited. The improbability is greatly increased when the court in which this state of things is supposed to exist is an oriental

CHAP. XVI. one. It is increased to the highest degree when it is recollected that it is the court of Arcot, where intrigue and espionage had long been carried to an extent which, if proficiency in those arts conferred an honourable distinction, might shame by its example every court with which it could be brought into comparison.

At the appointed time the British deputies repaired to the palace, and being first introduced to the khans, they demanded of those officers whether further consideration had wrought any change in their sentiments. They were answered that it was not the intention of Ali Hussein to recede from the terms of the counter project presented at the previous interview. The heir then entered, in conformity with the arrangement made on his behalf, and, in reply to a question from the deputies, declared that he considered the khans to have been appointed by his father for the purpose of assisting him, and that the object of his own councils was not separated from theirs. The deputies thereupon made a communication, which they had been instructed to deliver, of the intention of Lord Clive to hold a personal conference with Ali Hussein previously to carrying into effect the measures in contemplation. This took the khans by surprise, and appeared greatly to alarm them. Various modes of evading the proposed conference were resorted to ; but the deputies insisting that the governor's orders admitted no excuse or delay, the khans retired to make preparations, and Ali Hussein took advantage of their absence to

declare, in a low tone of voice, that he had been deceived by them. On their return, the whole party assembled proceeded to the tent of the officer commanding the Company's troops at the palace, where they were met by Lord Clive. The ceremonies of introduction being over, the attendants of Ali Hussein were required to withdraw, and the conference was conducted by him and the British governor. Before the latter had fully explained his views, he was interrupted by Ali Hussein, who, after expressing his sense of the governor's consideration, voluntarily proceeded to state that the conferences had been conducted by the khans without his participation, and that he disapproved of the result which had followed. In consequence of this avowal, the entire substance of the conferences was recapitulated to Ali Hussein, the proofs of the violation of the engagements of the late Nabob with the British government were distinctly enumerated, and the extent of the security required by the latter concisely explained. Ali Hussein then declared himself willing to agree to the terms proposed: and after some conversation on matters of secondary importance, he suggested that a treaty should be prepared, vesting the entire civil and military authority in the Company, which he observed he would be ready to execute, with or without the consent of the khans, at another separate conference which was appointed to be held on the following day within the British lines. On that day the deputies proceeded to the palace, to conduct the heir of Omdut-ul-Omrah to the place of meet-

CHAP. XVI. ing; but a change had passed over his mind, and he announced, that as the two khans had been appointed by his father's will to assist his councils, he could not adopt a line of conduct inconsistent with their advice, and that consequently no further interview with the governor was necessary. He was urged, notwithstanding his new determination, to keep the appointment which had been made, and he consented. The conference with Lord Clive, like the former, took place without the presence of the khans; but Ali Hussein maintained the same tone which had marked his previous communication to the deputies. Being requested to give some explanation, he said that he was aware that the sentiments which he now expressed differed entirely from those which he had avowed on the preceding day, but that the change was the result of reflection: that the whole family had been assembled to deliberate on his affairs—that he had, in consequence, given the subject better consideration, and that he now considered it to be totally incompatible with his interest and his honour to accede to the proposal to which he had previously given his consent. He was reminded of his admission that the khans had practised deception on him—the consequences of persisting in his new course were pointed out, and assurances were given of protection from any insult or danger that he might apprehend from an adherence to his former decision; but all these topics were urged in vain. A suspicion was then intimated to Ali Hussein that he had been encouraged by inte-

rested persons to adopt the fatal course on which he had entered—that their representations had induced him to disbelieve the existence of orders from the governor-general warranting the proposal which had been made to him, and the terms on which its acceptance had been urged. He admitted that he had been spoken to on the subject, but denied that he was influenced by any distrust of the nature of the governor-general's orders.

This point was one which the British negotiators felt it indispensable to render perfectly clear. They knew the delusions to which a person in the situation of Ali Hussein was exposed, and they were anxious to dispel them. It was, therefore, explained, that the allusion to the interested persons had reference to those who held tuncas and other claims on the Carnatic territory. These persons had strong motives for opposing the settlement of the affairs of the country in the way proposed, as in the event of its being placed under the control of the Company they could have no hope of enforcing those claims. It was added, that “the principles of persons of that description encouraged every expectation that they would be desirous of sacrificing the permanent interests and honour of” the Nabob’s “family to the attainment of their immediate advantage.”* What was meant by “the principles” of the persons here alluded to is not easy to conjecture. They were

* Report of Mr. Webbe and Colonel Close. It will be found in a series of papers relating to the Carnatic, presented to the House of Commons, and ordered to be printed in June, 1802.

CHAP. XVI. shameless and remorseless plunderers, without the slightest pretence even to those relaxed and undefined principles by which too many are guided; or those corrupted ones which have sometimes led men in sincerity and honesty to perpetrate crimes, in the belief that they were fulfilling the demands of duty. The men referred to had no more claim to principle than have the minor practitioners of the arts of acquisition by chicane or violence. These men plied on a large scale the occupation which their humbler brethren are compelled to follow on a small one. Wisely and humanely was the youthful candidate for the musnud of Arcot warned against their machinations. Most justly was it stated to him, that the oppressors of the Carnatic, with the general body of his father's creditors, would feel an interest in persuading him to reject the proposal which had been made to him, and to cherish a belief that the measures of the local government would be disapproved in England and reversed by the authorities there. The history of Arcot at that time afforded record of the successful practice of similar delusions—successful as to the object proposed, that of enriching unprincipled adventurers. Since that period the practice has not been totally discontinued, and instances of more recent date might be quoted, in which the interests of native princes have been sacrificed, that fortunes might be accumulated by strangers. Against the mischievous deceptions believed to be employed to mislead him, Ali Hussein was warned repeatedly though unavail-

ingly. He was apprized that, if he entertained any hope that what might be done by the government of Fort St. George would be undone by a superior authority, he deceived himself. He was assured, not only that the orders of the governor-general were peremptory to carry into effect the plan which had been submitted for his concurrence, but that the same views were entertained by the government at home, and that, consequently, all expectation of revision in that quarter must be vain. Nothing was neglected that could be supposed likely to lead the infatuated youth from the danger prepared for him by those who called themselves his friends; but all endeavours were vain. According to oriental views, he might be regarded as fated to relinquish rank and wealth with all their attractions and conveniences, for the sake of preserving to some worthless natives and equally worthless Europeans the means of unhallowed gain—an object which, after all, was not attained. The conference concluded on the part of Lord Clive by representing to Ali Hussein that no pains had been spared to guard him against the consequences which he was about to incur; that the duties of humanity towards him, and of attention to the honour of the British name, had been satisfied; that his position in society had been determined by himself, and that his future situation would be that of a private person, regarded as hostile to the British interests, and dependent for support on the voluntary bounty of the Company. Ali Hussein listened to the governor's parting address with composure, and retired

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CHAP. XVI. from the place of audience without offering any observation on it.

The endeavours which were made to prevail upon Ali Hussein to accept the offer of the British government were prompted by a desire to carry into effect the wishes of Omdut-ul-Omrah. Ali Hussein was the son of a woman of low station, who certainly never was the legal wife of the deceased Nabob. He had, however, been recognized by him as his heir, and in deference to this recognition the British government had offered to acknowledge him. The right to demand from him the same conditions which it had been resolved to claim from Omdut-ul-Omrah does not admit of question. That prince had been engaged in a series of intrigues directed against the power to which he owed his maintenance on the throne. It was justly held that he had forfeited the rights to which under treaty he had been entitled, so long as he continued to respect the conditions attached to them, and a new arrangement was contemplated, the completion of which was deferred by the dangerous state of the Nabob's health. Passing by the objections that might be taken to Ali Hussein's title, on the ground of illegitimacy—granting that his father's will entitled him to the right of inheritance, it is evident that he could claim to inherit no more than his father had the power to convey to him. Had Omdut-ul-Omrah recovered his health, the same representations which were made to Ali Hussein would have been made to

him, the same terms would have been required as conditions of his retaining the rank and title of Nabob, and if refused, Omdut-ul-Omrah must have been content to descend to a private station. Had he consented, his heir would have been admitted to succeed him on the same terms with himself—had he refused, the son, like the father, would have been an obscure pensioner. CHAP. XVI.

The accidental postponement of the intended measures of the British government, caused by the illness of Omdut-ul-Omrah, could make no difference in the rights of any party. If a new arrangement had been made during the life of Omdut-ul-Omrah, his death would not have revived, in favour of his heir, the rights secured by Lord Cornwallis's treaty; and it would be absurd to maintain that the humane consideration of the British government, in abstaining from pressing its just and reasonable claims upon a dying man, should deprive them of the power of enforcing them against his successor. Omdut-ul-Omrah had, indeed, been previously engaged in undermining the British interests, and Ali Hussein had not; but if the authority of the latter might properly have been subjected to limitations established during the life of his father, there could be no injustice in establishing the same limitations from the period of his father's death. The restrictions were not capriciously imposed; they were necessary, as experience had shewn, to the security of the British government. They were further necessary to the improvement of the country and the

CHAP. XVI. happiness of the people. On these grounds, the British government had long been anxious for change; they had been withheld from making it solely from a regard to the preservation of good faith. They had now an opportunity of rescuing the country from oppression without bringing any imputation upon the national honour; and none could condemn them for using it, except those who preferred the interests of a knot of reckless usurers to the happiness of those whose industry was exerted in drawing forth the riches of the earth.

The pestilent influence which had long been exerted to counteract all good government in the Carnatic was employed in endeavouring to paralyze the arm of the British government when raised to strike at the sources of oppression. The hope of success could have been but small, but it was resolved to risk the event. Ali Hussein, like his father and grandfather, was surrounded by men intent only on their own advantage, but accustomed to cloak their selfish designs under the guise of promoting the honour and interests of the prince. The counter project, presented by the khans on rejecting the overture of the British government, was obviously not of Asiatic manufacture. It bears indubitable marks of western origin.* It was manifest to the British deputies (and the fact is noticed in their report), that it had been translated from an European language; and no one who reads it in

* It will be found in the Collection of Carnatic Papers previously referred to.

English can doubt that it has been subjected to the process of double translation. Something more was manifest on the face of this paper. Great care was taken to exclude the executive government in India from any share in the management of the funds allotted to the liquidation of the consolidated debts of Mahomet Ali; it was, therefore, to be legitimately inferred that those who drew up the project were interested in the proposed exclusion. Into the hands of such persons had the youthful son of Omdut-ul-Omrah fallen. Through similar agency, Mahomet Ali had passed a life of misery and dishonour—hated by his subjects, distrusted by his allies, and flattered only by those who meant to profit by his weakness. His son inherited his throne and his incumbrances—his universal unpopularity and his miserable folly; but his reign, like that of his father, was wretched to himself, mischievous to his subjects, and useful to none save those whom it was infamy to serve; but it was far more brief, and with him the rampant ascendancy of usury and extortion passed away.

Omdut-ul-Omrah appears to have left no legitimate offspring; and it had been determined, should his testamentary heir reject the throne on the modified terms on which it was in future to be held, to tender it to the acceptance of Azim-ul-Dowlah. This prince was the only legitimate son of Ameer-ul-Omrah, the second son of Mahomet Ali. The ordinary principles of succession would thus be little violated; and except with reference to the

CHAP. XVI. testamentary disposition of the throne by Omdut-ul-Omrah, they would not be violated at all. It was, however, in this case far more easy to determine than to carry the determination into effect. Azim-ul-Dowlah was in the power of those who supported the pretensions of his cousin. Opportunity was sought for making a private communication to him; but so strictly was he watched, that it was found impracticable. A negotiation might have been commenced openly; but this, there was reason to apprehend, might involve the prince in the fate which in the East so often overtakes those who enjoy the dangerous distinction of royal birth without the means of self-defence. Before the question of how to communicate with Azim was solved, it was ascertained that the rival party were displaying much activity, and no inconsiderable share of audacity. The khans had privately, but formally, placed Ali Hussein on the musnud of Arcot, and a public ceremony of the like nature was to take place without delay. As such an investiture would be the signal for civil war, Lord Clive felt it necessary to resort to vigorous measures to prevent it. The officer commanding the British detachment in charge of the palace gateway was ordered to take possession of the entire building, and to remove the guards of the late Nabob, who had hitherto been suffered to continue at their posts. This being effected, the difficulty of communicating with Azim-ul-Dowlah was removed; a party of the Company's troops being substituted at the place

which he inhabited for the guards of the late Nabob who were previously stationed there. The prince was surprised by the change, and his surprise appears to have been not unmixed with alarm. It was explained to him that the movement was intended for his more effectual protection, and he was satisfied. Although he could not be aware of the precise views of the British government, he could at least place confidence in its honour, and must have felt certain that no change of guard could involve him in greater danger than that which previously surrounded him.

On the morning after the change the prince was visited by Colonel MacNeil, the officer in command, who intimated that, if he felt any desire of representing the state of his affairs to the British government, the means of doing so were now open to him without danger. The offer was embraced, and Azim was soon admitted to an interview with Lord Clive. He appeared to entertain no ambitious designs, and he probably did not anticipate the possibility of his elevation to the dignity which Ali Hussein had renounced. He complained of injuries and hardships, of poverty and its inconveniences, and requested with great earnestness that, in any settlement that might be made of the affairs of the Carnatic, his claims might be considered; but he appeared to limit his expectation to the provision of more suitable accommodation for his family. He was assured that his wishes would be regarded, and the conference closed without any intimation that his expectations were likely to be exceeded. Another interview took

CHAP. XVI. place on the following day, when the views of the British government were gradually unfolded. These being understood, there remained little to impede the progress of negotiation. Azim acknowledged the right acquired by the Company by the perfidy of Mahomet Ali and Omdut-ul-Omrah, and expressed himself willing to accept the office tendered him, with all the conditions attached to it by the British government. Within a few days a treaty was drawn up and signed, by which the respective rights of Azim and the Company were defined and settled on the basis previously determined on; a proclamation was issued by the governor of Fort St. George, setting forth the grounds upon which the British government had acted, and thus the long-vexed territories of Arcot passed easily and tranquilly into the possession of the East-India Company. The statesman under whose auspices this great and happy change was effected was amply justified in declaring the settlement of the Carnatic to be "perhaps the most salutary and useful measure which has been adopted since the acquisition of the dewanny of Bengal."*

It has been mentioned, that the necessary measures for the settlement of the Carnatic were deferred partly with a view to the previous completion of some negotiations pending with the Nizam. These ended in the conclusion of a new treaty with that prince, under which provision was made for an

* Letter from the Marquis Wellesley to Mr. Hiley Addington. Despatches, vol. iii. page 675.

increase of the subsidiary force maintained by the Company for the defence of his dominions, and the payments accruing on account of the whole were commuted for assignments of territory. For this purpose the whole of the territory acquired by the Nizam under the treaties of Seringapatam and Mysore was, by an article of the new treaty, transferred in perpetuity to the English; but as some of the districts lay inconveniently for their occupation, arrangements were made by a subsequent article for the exchange of those districts for others, which, though of somewhat less value, were more favourably situated with regard to British possession.

The Marquis Wellesley thus secured for his country the full benefit of the conquest of Mysore, and this without invading the just rights of the only ally who had taken part in the conquest. A portion of the acquisitions of that ally was, it is true, now surrendered to the English, and a further cession of territory was made in exchange for the remainder; but for these advantages an ample equivalent was offered, in relieving the Nizam from the subsidiary payments to which he must otherwise have been liable. The Nizam was thus exempted not merely from the necessity of payment, but from the harassing vexations which Eastern princes never fail to experience when money is to be disbursed. His people had reason to rejoice that one excuse for extortion was removed, while the inhabitants of the ceded territory had still greater cause for

CHAP. XVI. congratulation in the change of rulers. To the British government the new treaty gave security for the expense incurred on account of the Nizam; an improved frontier, and all the power and respect resulting from a considerable extension of territory. All parties were thus benefited, and the governor-general had the satisfaction of feeling that, while he was raising the position of his own government among the states of India, he was indirectly contributing to the peace and happiness of others. The course and connection of public events is the province of history rather than the personal character of the actors in them; yet it has ever been esteemed one, at least, of its secondary functions, to exhibit for admiration or for scorn the remarkable traits of good or of evil manifested by those who have occupied conspicuous places on the great stage of human affairs. If this view be correct, it would here be unjust to pass without notice one part of the conduct of the Marquis Wellesley, in the progress of the negotiation with the Nizam. The resident at Hyderabad, under the influence of excessive zeal for the conclusion of an arrangement which he believed to be important, had somewhat exceeded his powers by agreeing to articles with regard to the commutation of subsidiary payments by territorial cession, which did not clearly define the respective rights of the Company and the Nizam; and he had sought to justify the proceeding in a manner which, though not unprecedented among diploma-

tists, drew from the governor-general a severe censure. "Any expression in the grant," writes the Marquis Wellesley, "calculated to raise a doubt of its permanence, or to limit the power of the Company's internal government of the country, or to favour the Nizam's right of resumption, would evidently prevent us from concluding any settlement worthy of our character, or advantageous to our interests. In paragraph four of your despatch of the 26th of May, you plainly admit that the court of Hyderabad understands the fourth and fifth articles to have secured to the Nizam an arbitrary right of resuming the districts subsequently to the intended assignment, and you endeavour to remove this insurmountable objection to those articles by alleging your construction of their exposition to be different from that maintained by the Nizam and his ministers. It is painful to me to be compelled to remark that your argument in this paragraph is founded on principles incompatible with the maintenance of public faith, and exploded by the wisdom, justice, and integrity of the law of nations. To introduce ambiguous phrases into formal instruments, designed to constitute the basis of public obligations between great states, is a practice repugnant to the policy, honour, and dignity of the British nation. The perspicuity of our expressions in all acts of obligation upon our national faith should be as manifest as the superiority of our power." Such were the lofty and generous principles which then guided the adminis-

CHAP. XVI. **tration of the government of British India.** The passage immediately following that which has been quoted carries forward the discussion of the question, but places the determination on different grounds—those of an extended and enlightened prudence. “If it were possible for me,” continues the governor-general, “to afford my countenance to a contrary system, common discretion would preclude me from such a course in the present case, when you distinctly avow that the ambiguous phrases on which you propose to rest the future claim of the British government against its ally are at this moment, previously to the ratification of the treaty, construed by that ally in a sense directly contradictory to that which you desire to maintain. Your further arguments on the article under consideration serve only to prove that the Nizam might be embarrassed in the exercise of the right which he intended to reserve to himself. If your reasoning on this part of the question be admitted, the result would be not an amicable, firm alliance, founded on clear, distinct, and indisputable principles, but an ill-defined state of perpetual jealousy, controversy, and animosity, of doubtful claims and of incompatible rights.”* No right-minded Englishman can read these remarks without wishing that his countrymen in India had always been actuated by the sentiments which they express. It is unnecessary to refer to instances in

* Letter from Marquis Wellesley to resident at Hyderabad, 15th April, 1800. See Despatches, vol. ii. pp. 278, 279.

which such was too obviously not the fact—the CHAP. XVI.
memory of him who has read the earlier portions
of this work will supply them. No blots of this
description darken the career of the Marquis
Wellesley. Its purity is not less striking than
its splendour.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHAP. XVII. **ATTENTION** must now be carried back to the commencement of the Marquis Wellesley's administration, and diverted from the southern to the northern parts of India. In Oude the rightful sovereign had been placed on the musnud; but in other respects, all was embarrassment and disorder. The British subsidy was always in arrear, while the most frightful extortion was practised in the realization of the revenue. Justice was unknown; the army was a disorderly mass, formidable only to the power whom it professed to serve. These evils of native growth were aggravated by the presence of an extraordinary number of European adventurers, most of whom were as destitute of character and principle as they were of property. It is worthy of remark, that an ill-governed Indian state is precisely the place which a disreputable class of Europeans find the most suitable to the exercise of their talents. To all these points, as well as to the extraordinary degree of power, far too great for a subject, possessed by Almas,* the attention of the governor-general was turned soon after his arrival, and his

* The power and influence of this person have been noticed in chapter xiv. See vol. ii.

views were thus explained in a letter dated a few CHAP. XVII.
months after that event, and addressed to the resident at Lucknow. "The necessity of providing for the defence of the Carnatic, and for the early revival of our alliances in the peninsula, as well as for the seasonable reduction of the growing influence of France in India, has not admitted either of my visiting Oude, or of my turning my undivided attention to the reform of the Vizier's affairs. There are, however, two or three leading considerations in the state of Oude to which I wish to direct your particular notice, intending at an early period to enter fully into the arrangements in which they must terminate. Whenever the death of Almas shall happen, an opportunity will offer of securing the benefits of Lord Teignmouth's treaty, by provisions which seem necessary for the purpose of realizing the subsidy under all contingencies. The Company ought to succeed to the power of Almas, and the management, if not the sovereignty, of that part of the Doab which he now rents ought to be placed in our hands, a proportionate reduction being made from the subsidy. The effect of such an arrangement would not be confined to the improvement of our security for the subsidy; the strength of our north-western frontier would also be greatly increased. On the other hand, in the event of Almas's death, we shall have to apprehend either the dangerous power of a successor equal to him in talents and activity, or the weakness of one inferior in both, or the division of the country among a variety of renters. In the first case we

CHAP. XVII. should risk internal commotion, in the two latter the frontier of Oude would be considerably weakened against the attacks either of the Abdalli or any other invader. The only remedy for these evils will be the possession of the Doab, fixed in the hands of our government. The state of the Vizier's own troops is another most pressing evil. To you I need not enlarge on their inefficiency and insubordination. My intention is to persuade his excellency at a proper season to disband the whole of his army, with the exception of such part of it as may be necessary for the purposes of state, or of the collection of the revenue. Some expedient must be devised for providing a maintenance for such leaders and officers as from their birth or habits cannot easily be divested of their military pretensions (I do not say military character, for I do not believe that any such description of men exist at Lucknow). In the place of the armed rabble which now alarms the Vizier and invites his enemies, I propose to substitute an increased number of the Company's regiments of infantry and cavalry, to be relieved from time to time, and to be paid by his excellency.* This communication shews that it was no part of the governor-general's policy to leave the determination of great state questions to accident, nor to postpone the formation of a plan for meeting contingencies until the contingencies had actually occurred. The remedies proposed for existing evils were as vigorous as their suggestion was timely, but they were not more vigorous than was required by the inveterate diseases which they were

* Letter to J. Lumsden, Esq., 23rd December, 1798.

designed to eradicate. In addition to the measures CHAP. XVII.
noticed in the above extract, the governor-general meditated the relief of the country from the host of Europeans who had fixed upon it as their prey. These he proposed to disperse by as summary a process of ejection as should be consistent with humanity.

Before these designs could be put in course of execution, a tragical occurrence, arising out of the disputed claim to the musnud of Oude, displayed without disguise the character of the pretender, who had been dispossessed by Lord Teignmouth. Vizier Ali had been allowed to reside at Benares, a place singularly ill-chosen with reference to his pretensions and character, and from which the new governor-general, with sufficient reason, determined to remove him. His numerous retinue had more than once disturbed the peace of the city; and the ordinary military force stationed there was not deemed sufficient to guard against the danger either of commotion or escape. It was also understood that Vizier Ali had dispatched a vakeel with presents to the Affghan prince, Zemaun Shah; and it was justly inferred that he would not fail to turn to his advantage any opportunity that might be afforded by the approach of the Shah, and the consequent employment of the British troops at a distance. Saadut Ali had applied for his removal; and, independently of this, such a step was obviously called for by sound policy. Mr. Cherry, the British agent, was accordingly instructed to signify to Vizier Ali

CHAP. XVII. the governor-general's intention that he should transfer his residence to the vicinity of Calcutta; at the same time assuring him that no diminution of his allowances or appointments would be attempted, and that at his new abode he would neither be subjected to any additional restraint, nor denied any indulgence which he had been accustomed to enjoy at Benares. When this communication was made, Vizier Ali expressed great reluctance to the required change. This had been expected; but in a short time his feelings appeared to have undergone great alteration. He ceased to manifest any dislike to removal, and seemed perfectly satisfied with the assurances which he had received of continued attention and indulgence. The conduct of Mr. Cherry towards Vizier Ali is represented to have been kind, delicate, and conciliatory; and the latter, so far from affording any ground for suspicion, had uniformly professed to entertain towards the British agent feelings of affectionate gratitude. But the part which Mr. Cherry's official duty had imposed on him, in relation to the deposition of Vizier Ali, had fixed in the mind of that person the deepest hatred. Mr. Cherry was warned of this, but unhappily the warning was disregarded. Prudence and the orders of government alike counselled precaution, but none was taken. A visit which Vizier Ali made, accompanied by his suite, to the British agent, afforded the means of accomplishing the meditated revenge. He had engaged himself to breakfast with Mr. Cherry, and the parties met in apparent amity. The usual

compliments were exchanged. Vizier Ali then CHAP. XVII.
began to expatiate on his wrongs, and having pursued this subject for some time, he suddenly rose with his attendants, and put to death Mr. Cherry and Captain Conway, an English officer who happened to be present. The assassins then rushed out, and meeting another Englishman named Graham, they added him to the list of their victims. They proceeded to the house of Mr. Davis, judge and magistrate, who had just time to remove his family to an upper terrace, which could only be reached by a very narrow staircase. At the top of this staircase Mr. Davis, armed with a spear, took his post, and so successfully did he defend it, that the assailants, after several attempts to dislodge him, were compelled to retire without effecting their object. The benefit derived from the resistance of this intrepid man extended beyond his own family: the delay thereby occasioned afforded to the rest of the English inhabitants opportunity of escaping to the place where the troops stationed for the protection of the city were encamped. General Erskine, on learning what had occurred, dispatched a party to the relief of Mr. Davis, and Vizier Ali thereupon retired to his own residence. This, after some resistance, was forced, but not until its master had made his escape, with most of his principal adherents. No further measures seem to have been taken till the following morning, when a party of cavalry was dispatched after him; but the rapidity of his movements, and the advantage which he had gained

CHAP. XVII. by the delay of pursuit, rendered the attempt to overtake him ineffectual.

The miscreant found refuge in the territories of the Rajah of Bhotwul, a chief tributary both to the Vizier and the Rajah of Nepaul, at which latter place the Rajah of Bhotwul was at the time in durance. By his representatives, however, Vizier Ali was hospitably received, and allowed to take means for considerably increasing the number of his followers. The British government remonstrated with the Rajah of Nepaul against this conduct of the Rajah of Bhotwul's dependents, and the remonstrance produced such demonstrations on the part of the person to whom it was addressed, as led Vizier Ali to conclude that Bhotwul was no longer an eligible place of residence. The strength which he had acquired enabled him to display a bold front, and he advanced into Goruckpore, whither a detachment of the Company's troops had marched. With these a skirmish took place, to the disadvantage of Vizier Ali. His followers then began to drop off, and he would probably have been taken, but for the treachery of a body of the Vizier's troops who had been stationed to intercept him. Passing along the foot of the northern hills, he succeeded in reaching Jyneghur, where he was received, but placed under restraint. It being suggested by Captain Collins, the British resident with Scindia, that the Rajah of Jyneghur might be induced, by the offer of a considerable reward, to surrender his visitor, that officer was in-

structed to open a negotiation for the purpose. The task was not unattended with difficulty. The law of honour, as understood at Jyneghur, stood in the way of giving up to his pursuers even a murderer. On the other hand, the Rajah's appetite for wealth was violently stimulated by the large sum offered by Colonel Collins as the price of the transfer of the person of Vizier Ali into his keeping. A compromise was at length effected. Vizier Ali was given up, on condition that his life should be spared, and that his limbs should not be disgraced by chains. Some of his accomplices had previously suffered the punishment due to their crimes. The great criminal escaped through the scruples of the Rajah of Jyneghur. Those scruples, however, did not prevent his relieving his guest of the charge of a quantity of jewels. This acquisition, with the sum obtained from the English, probably consoled the Rajah for the slight taint which his honour had incurred.

The views which the governor-general had previously propounded to the resident at Lucknow were subsequently directed to be pressed upon the attention of the Vizier. It was justly urged that the alarm created by the recent approach of Zemaun Shah ought to operate as an inducement to employ the season of repose afforded by his retirement in providing such effectual means of resistance as might be sufficient to avert the apprehension of future danger. The military establishment of the Vizier was admitted, by himself, to be useless for the purpose of defence. It was worse than useless; for at the moment when the presence of the British force had

CHAP. XVII. been required to make a formidable demonstration on the frontier, it had been found necessary to retain a part of it in the capital to protect the person and authority of the prince from the excesses of his own disaffected and disorderly troops. The conclusion which this state of things suggested to the governor-general was unanswerable. "The inference to be drawn from these events," said he, "is obviously that the defence of his excellency's dominions against foreign attack, as well as their internal tranquillity, can only be secured by a reduction of his own useless, if not dangerous, troops, and by a proportionate augmentation of the British force in his pay."

A change which not long afterwards took place in the office of resident at Lucknow caused some delay in the communication of the governor-general's views to the Vizier. Mr. Lumsden was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, who bore a letter from Sir Alured Clarke, then holding the office of vice-president in Bengal, calling attention to the necessity of military reform. A favourable opportunity for presenting the letter was offered by the Vizier's complaints of the turbulent and disorderly state of some of his battalions. Of this Colonel Scott took advantage; and the prince, on reading the letter, declared his thorough concurrence in the sentiments which it contained. The resident thereupon pressed an early consideration of the subject, and requested that the result might be communicated to him as soon as possible. He, at the same time, suggested the propriety of

preparing certain statements of the number and CHAP. XVII.
expense of the troops of every description employed
by the Vizier.

More than twenty days passed without any satisfactory notice of this communication. The resident then pressed for the appointment of a day for the discussion of the subject, and a day was fixed. On its arrival, however, nothing could be drawn from the Vizier but the most vague and dark intimations of his views and feelings. He observed, that the measure proposed was not impracticable, but such as he hoped might be accomplished; but he added, that he had a proposal to make, connected with his own ease, the prosperity of his government, and the happiness of his subjects, and which, in its operation, could be prejudicial to no one; but all intimation of its nature or character he deferred till an expected visit of the governor-general to Lucknow, or till the execution of the projected measure was committed to the resident. No representations could induce him to explain; but he promised to visit the resident on a future day, and dictate a memorandum. He came, but the matter dictated for report to the governor-general proved to be nothing more than a repetition of what he had stated on the former day. The resident entered into arguments to shew the propriety of separating the two projects, as the reform of the military department must be greatly protracted if it were made dependant on the acceptance of the Vizier's unexplained proposal. On that proposal it was urged no determination could

CHAP. XVII. be formed for a considerable time, inasmuch as the governor-general's presence at Lucknow could not be immediate, and it was not to be expected that he would delegate powers for the conclusion of an arrangement with the nature and object of which he was totally unacquainted. But the Vizier was unmoved, and the conference terminated without any progress having been made in the negotiation.

From the mysterious deportment of the Vizier nothing could be distinctly known of his wishes or intentions. All was left to conjecture. The resident believed that he was anxious to annihilate the functions of the ministers, who were the ordinary organs of communication with the resident, and to become the sole executor of his own purposes. What those purposes were, and in what manner they were carried on, was manifest from the whole course of the government since its assumption by Saadut Ali. The appropriation of the profits of oppression had been in a great degree changed, but no change had taken place for the benefit of the people. The same abuse and mismanagement, the same frightful extortions which disgraced the revenue collections under the former government, continued to prevail undiminished in extent or atrocity, under that of Saadut Ali. The only difference was, that the entire fruits went into the private treasury of the sovereign, and, as parsimony was a striking feature in his character, were carefully hoarded by him. Formerly, a large portion was appropriated by those

who stood between the prince and the people, and the part which reached the royal coffers was quickly dissipated in wild and thoughtless profusion. "I cannot but feel," said Colonel Scott, "that the ruin of the country, commenced in a reign of profusion and indolence, will progressively proceed in a reign of parsimony and diligence." CHAP. XVII.

No experienced statesman indulges a vision so Utopian, as the hope of silencing calumny or securing universal approbation. The folly of such an expectation, if it existed, could scarcely be more strikingly illustrated than by reference to the opinions which have been at various times expressed on the mode of dealing adopted by the British government of India with the states in subsidiary alliance with it. If the unrestrained exercise of the civil government—that is, the unrestrained power of grinding to the dust the mass of the people, and drying up the sources of prosperity—be left in the hands of the native prince and his minions, the British government is accused of supporting by its authority abuses which it has the means of suppressing. When it is supposed to entertain an inclination to restrain, however cautiously and moderately, the power of oppression, it is accused of violating treaties and invading the rights of independent princes. No statesman who feels confident in his own integrity will regard the clamour on either side; but those who live on the breath of popular applause, and apart from it find no satisfaction in the consciousness of performing their duty, cannot fail to see

CHAP. XVII. in the management of the subsidiary states difficulties, through which it is impossible for them to pass without incurring the loss of the element by which they live.

The governor-general of India, at the time under consideration, was not of this latter class. He was resolved to take the measures which appeared to him, under the surrounding circumstances, the best, undeterred alike by fear of the reproaches of those who might choose to think, or to affect to think, that he did either too little or too much. His answer to the representations of the resident was to the effect, that the present condition of the government appeared to preclude the acquisition of the information necessary to the first step in the proposed reforms; that it was to be hoped an application addressed to the Vizier by the governor-general, simultaneously with his communication to Colonel Scott, would remove all difficulty, and establish the resident in the degree of influence and consideration which it was necessary he should enjoy; but if this expectation should be disappointed, the resident was to insist, in the name of his superior, on the Vizier placing his government in such a state as should afford the requisite means of information, as well as of carrying the necessary military reforms completely and speedily into effect. The nominal minister, Hussein Reza Khan, was supposed to offer a bar to these results. His master withheld from him confidence, consideration, and power. His talents were not such as to make it desirable to retain

him in opposition to the wishes of the Vizier, and CHAP. XVII.
the governor-general was ready to assent to his removal, due provision being made for his support and safety, provided that his successor should be a person unequivocally well disposed to cultivate and improve the existing connection between the state of Oude and the Company. The proposed military reform, however, was declared to be the great and immediate object of the governor-general's solicitude. This point was to be pressed with unremitted earnestness, and the Vizier's acquiescence in the necessary measures was expected to be totally unqualified by any conditions not necessarily connected with it.

The occurrence about this time of a dispute between the Vizier and part of his troops afforded such striking illustration of the character of the prince, and of the relation subsisting between him and his army, that on this account it deserves notice. One of his battalions, stationed at Lucknow, refused to march to a part of the country where its services were required until a portion of its arrears of pay were discharged; ~~for~~ Saadut Ali scrupulously observed the good old native custom of keeping soldiers' pay heavily in arrear, and never indulging his troops with the luxury of money till it was absolutely impossible to withhold it. On this occasion the Vizier was so disgusted with the presumption of the request for the issue of pay long over due, that he declared his intention of actually complying with the demand of the clamorous battalion, and then

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CHAP. XVII. **disbanding it.** The resident approved of the determination; first, because the troops had shewn some symptoms of disaffection; and, secondly, because the gradual dismissal of the Vizier's battalions, when occasion might arise, seemed a desirable mode of preparing for the introduction of a general reform of the military establishment of Oude in the manner desired by the governor-general. But a settlement of accounts is, in the East, always a matter of difficulty; and the arrangement of the claims of the Vizier's discontented battalions was not destined to form an exception from a rule, the extent of which is all but universal. According to the Vizier, only three months' pay was due—the battalion claimed five. This point was adjusted, when another impediment arose. The Vizier required that the different companies should proceed to the treasury of the palace, there to receive payment and deliver up their arms and accoutrements. The men, apprehended deception, and required that the money should be sent to their encampment, or that a hostage should remain there as security for the due performance of their sovereign's engagements. The British resident having found, by an inspection of the accounts, that the proposed mode of adjustment was equitable, and having also ascertained that the men refused to proceed to the place appointed for their payment and discharge, was disposed to support the authority of the Vizier by the employment of one of the Company's regiments.

But he was not thoroughly satisfied of the honest intentions of the prince; and the discontented men, reposing confidence in him which they withheld from their master, sent a deputation to explain to him their situation and wishes. It was stated on their behalf, that the want of pay had produced real distress; that there was no commandant or head of the battalion through whom they could regularly apply to the Vizier; and that the feeling of distrust, which deterred them from going to the palace in conformity with the orders of the prince, was amply justified by the non-fulfilment of former promises. The resident took pains to satisfy the minds of the applicants, and they appeared disposed to submit. The existence of this disposition being communicated to the Vizier, he, too, expressed himself satisfied. A deprecatory petition from the malcontents was presented to the prince through the British resident, who, partaking of the feeling of distrust which pervaded not only the battalion in question, but all ranks and orders of men at Lucknow, gave the weight of his own recommendation to the course which he deemed most advisable—that the Vizier should accept the submission of the battalion, settle the arrears of pay in the manner proposed, and follow up the settlement by dismissal. The Vizier consented with a graciousness worthy of his elevated station; and promised that arrangements should be made for carrying into effect on a specified day the

CHAP. XVII. plan supported by Colonel Scott. The ready acquiescence of the prince seems to have lulled the suspicions of the British resident, though his experience of the value of the royal word might have been supposed sufficient to keep them awake. His account of his feelings, of the change effected in them, and of the cause of that change, shall be given in his own words. "I had no apprehension," says he, "that he (the Vizier) would depart from his engagements, or that any obstruction on his side would be thrown in the way of a final conclusion. How great, then, was my astonishment, to find that the persons employed to adjust the accounts had commanded the attendance at the palace of four of the native officers by name, for the purpose of settling a demand of several thousand rupees, which they said had been brought forward by the former commandant of the battalion, who has been ten months in confinement, which sum was to be deducted from the aggregate amount of pay due to the battalion. I sent a message to the Nawaub (Vizier), remonstrating against this new and unreasonable demand, which, if justly formed, ought to have been included in the account originally furnished for my inspection. The Nawaub (Vizier), under the most solemn assurances, and with many solid arguments on the policy of good faith, declared his firm resolution of adhering to the settlement; but his excellency went out this morning to a garden of Almas's, about eight miles from the city, without leaving any instructions for the adjustment of ac-

counts or payment of arrears.”* Against this scandalous breach of honesty Colonel Scott remonstrated, and, ultimately, through his exertions, the troops received their pay. CHAP. XVII.

This preliminary being over, they deposited their arms and dispersed without tumult or disorder. The conduct of the resident throughout these proceedings scarcely seems to require apology. If any be necessary, it is furnished in his own appeal to the governor-general for an indulgent construction. “If,” said he, “in the course of this transaction any part of the conduct pursued by me should appear to your lordship exceptionable, I trust to your lordship’s liberal consideration of the embarrassments a man must labour under where artifice is opposed to plain dealing, where the crimes of the accused originate in the faults of the government, and where, under the mask of vigour, attempts are made to draw me into a participation of a measure of cruel and unjust severity for the gratification of avarice.”

Such was the situation of Colonel Scott—such has been and still is the situation of those holding appointments similar to his. Surrounded on every side by temptations to err, the most inflexible determination and the most cautious discretion are indispensable to the creditable discharge of their onerous duties.

But it is time to return to the progress of the

* Letter of Colonel Scott to governor-general, 4th October, 1799, published in Parliamentary Papers.

CHAP. XVII. negotiation for carrying into effect the governor-general's views of military reform. In answer to a letter from the governor-general already referred to, the Vizier declared that the advantages, both immediate and future, of a reform in his military establishment were more strongly impressed on his own mind than on that of his illustrious correspondent, and that he would, without a moment's delay, consult with Colonel Scott upon what was practicable, and communicate the result of their joint deliberations. This promise was fulfilled in the manner usual with the Vizier—it is unnecessary to explain that, in point of fact, it was not fulfilled at all. Colonel Scott described the character and habits of this prince with equal truth and brevity. "His excellency," said he, "is a man inconceivably difficult to deal with under an observance of the common forms due to respect and decorum. His ready and thorough acquiescence in the propriety of almost every measure proposed to him precludes discussion, but the execution is neglected by a total disregard of promise, or evaded by a flimsy subterfuge." The promised communication of the Vizier's sentiments not arriving, the governor-general again addressed a letter to him, representing the obligation of the Company to defend the prince's dominions; the insufficiency for the purpose of the number of British troops ordinarily stationed within them; the danger impending from the intentions of Zemaun Shah, and possibly from other sources; the necessity of an augmentation of the British force, and the ready

means of providing for the cost by disbanding the disorderly battalions, which were a source not of strength but of weakness. The letter concluded by intimating that the British troops in Oude would be immediately reinforced by a portion of the proposed augmentation; the remainder were to follow at a future period. CHAP. XVII.

The justice of this measure must be determined by the conditions of the treaty under which the relative claims of the Vizier and the British government arose—its expediency, by the circumstances under which it was resorted to.

The treaty was that concluded by Lord Teignmouth and Saadut Ali on placing that prince upon the throne. This instrument formally recognized the obligation incurred by the East-India Company under former treaties, of defending the dominions of the Vizier against all enemies; it bound the Vizier to pay a specified amount of subsidy for an English force to be continually stationed in his territories, which force was never to be less than ten thousand strong; “and if at any time it should become necessary to augment the troops of the Company in Oude beyond the number of thirteen thousand men, including Europeans and natives, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, the Nawaub Saadut Ali Khan,” agreed “to pay the actual difference occasioned by the excess above that number.”* The possible augmentation of the force beyond thirteen thousand is here clearly contemplated and provided for. A question arises, who was

* Seventh article of treaty.

CHAP. XVII. to judge of the necessity? and to this the treaty gives
no answer. If the Vizier, it might happen that a prince, who, like Saadut Ali, was at once under the influence of an extreme love of money and a headstrong will, might, with a view to the gratification of his passions, deny the necessity, when its existence was clear to every one else; and if his denial were to determine the question, the country might be overrun by enemies, whose subsequent expulsion might occasion to the Company an amount of trouble and of loss which better provision would have averted. The Company, it is to be remembered, were bound not merely to assist the Vizier with specified amount of force for the defence of his dominions—they were bound efficiently to defend them; and to require them to do this, with a force inadequate to the exigencies of the case, would be altogether unreasonable and absurd. The obligation to defend the territory of Oude involved the obligation of allotting a sufficient force for the duty: if thirteen thousand men were insufficient, they were bound to employ more, for the country was to be defended absolutely and unreservedly. The obligation which the Company had undertaken was therefore accompanied by the right of determining upon the necessity for an increase of force. If the right rested with any other party, the result would be, that the Company might be lawfully called upon to perform an impossibility.

Some misapprehension may have arisen from the manner in which the operation of the seventh article of Lord Teignmouth's treaty is adverted to in

the letter to the Vizier. It is said, "The seventh CHAP. XVII.
article of the treaty concluded with your excellency by Sir John Shore, provides for the occasional augmentation of the Company's troops in your excellency's dominions." This is not strictly accurate; the words of the treaty are, "if, at any time, it should become necessary to augment the troops of the Company in Oude;" the provision is general—it refers not to the augmentation being either occasional or permanent. Indeed, the paragraph of the letter preceding that in which occurs the reference to the power of augmentation as only occasional must have satisfied the Vizier that that which was proposed was designed to be permanent. "It might not be in the power of the British government," it is said, "on a sudden emergency to reinforce the troops in your excellency's country with sufficient expedition; my firm opinion therefore is, that the Company can in no other manner fulfil effectually their engagement to 'defend the dominions of your excellency against all enemies,' than by maintaining constantly in those dominions such a force as shall at all times be adequate to your effectual protection, independently of any reinforcement which the exigency might otherwise require, but which might not be disposable in proper season." The views of the governor-general were thus most clearly and distinctly explained.

Should it be said, that if the above construction of the treaty be correct, the Vizier, as to the expense of supporting the British force, was altoge-

CHAP. XVII. ther at the mercy of the British government—this is quite true. He placed himself at their mercy by delegating to them the defence of his dominions. His weakness required support—he consented to receive it from a powerful neighbour. He had placed himself in a condition of dependence, and having agreed to purchase certain advantages upon certain terms, he had no right to object to those terms being enforced. The right of the English government was not indeed to be pressed to its full extent without reason; but if reason existed, he could not justly question its exercise.

This leads to the second point of inquiry—whether at the time it was expedient to call upon the Vizier to entertain an increased number of British troops? and this admits of a very ready answer. Oude was menaced by Zemaun Shah, who had not only threatened invasion, but advanced to Lahore to carry his design into effect. True it was, that, alarmed for the safety of his power at home, he had suddenly retreated; but his return at a convenient season was fairly to be expected. Scindia, too, was believed to cherish designs unfavourable to the peace of Oude. The Rohillas, always turbulent and discontented, were ready to embark in the occupation they loved, and every part of the Vizier's dominions was overrun with disorder, crime, misery, and disaffection. The state of the Vizier's army has been already noticed, but it may not be improper to quote a few remarks on this subject from communications written a few months before this period by Sir

James Craig, who commanded the British force in Oude. “As to the Nawaub’s troops,” he said, “it is impossible for me to convey to your lordship a more decided opinion as to their nullity than I have already had the honour of communicating to your lordship. With the view, however, of drawing from them the only service which it seemed possible to hope for, I pressed strongly for the appointment of General Martine to the command of those stationed in Rohilcund, which the Nawaub has acceded to.” He adds shortly afterwards, “it is extremely difficult to combat the obstacles which arise from the extreme pusillanimity and sordid avarice of the Nawaub.” And in illustration of this position Sir James Craig adds: “I am well assured that the Nawaub’s troops are neither armed nor clothed, nor is there a gun in the district which is put under General Martine’s command that can be made use of. In consequence of our representations he has promised to send some guns; but he declares that he has neither arms nor clothing beyond what he must furnish to the battalions that he keeps near his person.” But though these troops were in a state which would have rendered them valueless against an enemy, they were not without the power of producing internal mischief. In another letter Sir James Craig says: “I know not what to say with respect to the Nawaub’s troops. I would be content that they should be useless, but I dread their being dangerous, unless some step is taken with regard to them. I should be almost as unwilling to leave them behind me as I

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CHAP. XVII. should be to leave a fortress of the enemy. The
Nawaub is highly unpopular, and of all his subjects, I believe he would least expect attachment from his army.”* Now in the face of all these sources of danger to the state which the East-India Company were bound to protect from all enemies—with the prospect of invasion by a prince who had recently traversed, without much difficulty, a considerable portion of the countries between his own and that of the Vizier, and whose future progress through the remainder could not be regarded as impracticable—with cause for distrusting the pacific disposition of a powerful and treacherous Mahratta chief on the very borders of Oude—with these perils without, and with an oppressed people and a disorderly mob, called by courtesy an army, within, would the governor-general have been justified in congratulating himself, that in the north-west, at least, all was quiet, and in the exercise of this soothing belief, leaving that part of India without additional defence? He might have delayed strengthening the British force in Oude till Scindia was in the Doab, and Zemaun Shah at Delhi, proclaiming from thence the restoration of the Mahometan empire of India, the Rohilla chiefs in arms, and the rabble soldiery of Saadut Ali seeking their fortunes in the best way that the universal confusion might offer; he might have awakened from a dream of security to learn that one, or several, or all of these events had taken place,

* The two letters from which these extracts are taken will be found in 1st volume of the Wellesley Despatches.

and then have proceeded to express to the home government his regret for the misfortunes that had occurred, his astonishment and sorrow at the infatuation of the Vizier, and his earnest determination to do all within his power to retrieve the disasters which he might have assumed no human foresight could have anticipated ; but the Earl of Mornington was not a man to fold his arms in supineness, and cast the responsibility of ill success upon fortune—events found him prepared for their arrival. In preparing for them, though he steadily kept in view the great principles of justice and moderation, he despised that affected regard for them which seeks temporary popularity by the sacrifice of important interests. He could not but know, that in interposing to save the Vizier from the consequences of his own folly, he should incur some obloquy from the prejudiced, the inconsiderate, the ignorant, or the base ; but this consideration weighed not against a regard for the peace of India, and for the honour and security of the British name and dominion. He saw that a regard to these objects called for a certain course of policy—that such a course was at the same time calculated to benefit the ruler and people of Oude, though the former, blinded by his passions, saw it not ; and, being satisfied on these great points, he kept on his way, undismayed by difficulties, and undeterred by the fear of misrepresentation.

A new scene was now about to open at Lucknow. The Vizier had for some time been in the

CHAP. XVII. habit of dwelling, in his conversations with the British resident, on the impossibility of his conducting the affairs of the country. So frequently had this occurred, that the resident stated he had been led to conjecture that the prince had it in contemplation to retire from the cares and fatigues of government. This surmise he had never communicated to the governor-general, and he imputes his silence to various causes—the apparent absurdity of the expectation, and the countenance afforded to a contrary belief by the conduct of the Vizier, in meditating state regulations, projecting buildings, and making household arrangements, implying the intention of permanently residing at Lucknow. If, however, the resident had ever been led to form the conjecture referred to, it was his duty to have intimated it to the authority which he served; not, indeed, as a matter deserving much attention, but as the occasional result produced upon his mind by the conversation of the Vizier. It is a primary duty of such an officer to keep his government advised, not only of every thing of political interest that occurs at the scene of his duties, but of his own impressions, whether fixed or variable, with regard to them.

The time, however, arrived when Colonel Scott had something more than his own conjectures to communicate. The Vizier made a formal avowal of his desire and resolution to relinquish a government which he declared himself unable to manage either with satisfaction to himself or—and in this respect the admission was certainly as literally true as it

was apparently candid—with advantage to his subjects. Colonel Scott made some remarks tending to shew that, by following his advice, the affairs of the country might be administered for the benefit of the people, and at the same time with ease and reputation to the prince. The Vizier replied that this might be so, but it was impossible for one person to judge of the feelings of another; that his mind was not disposed to the cares and fatigues of government; that he was firmly resolved to retire from them; and that, as one of his sons would be raised to the musnud, his name would remain. At a subsequent period of the conference, he added, that in relinquishing the government he renounced every thought of interfering in its concerns, or of residing within its limits; that the money he possessed was sufficient for his own support, and for the attainment of every gratification in a private station—which was certainly the fact; but he desired to stipulate for a due provision being made for his sons, and for the other branches of his family, whom he meant to leave at Lucknow.

In reporting to the governor-general the intention of the Vizier, together with the substance of several conversations held with him on the subject, Colonel Scott suggested certain points for consideration. One of these was, whether it would not be more advisable, if the Vizier's consent could be obtained, that the abdication, instead of being confined to his own person, should also extend to his posterity. In connection with this suggestion, it is

CHAP. XVII. right to state, that though the Vizier had sons, none of them were legitimate. Another question raised by the resident related to the disposal of the treasure left by the former Vizier. This had been removed by Saadut Ali from the public treasury to the female apartments of his palace, and it was conjectured that this step might have been taken in contemplation of the design of relinquishing the government. The debts of the Vizier's brother, to whose place and treasure Saadut Ali had succeeded, were considerable, and no part of them had been paid. Salaries were due to public servants, and a considerable amount of allowances to pensioners. All these claims it was probable Saadut Ali meant to evade. Colonel Scott had recommended that the Vizier should himself write to the governor-general. This he declined, on the ground that there was no one about him to whom he could confide so delicate an affair; and he desired the resident to draw up a paper in Persian, embodying the views of the prince as previously explained, for transmission to the governor-general, which was accordingly done. It is unnecessary to trace minutely the proceedings which followed. It will be sufficient to state that, in reference to the various communications which he had received, the governor-general transmitted a series of instructions to the resident, a draft of a proposed treaty, and a paper explanatory of the views of the British government, specially intended for the perusal of the Vizier. The tendency of these documents was rather to

discourage the meditated step of abdication than otherwise. The governor-general saw that many advantages would result from it, if the entire administration of the government, civil and military, were transferred to the Company; but he saw also that the realization of those advantages would be greatly impeded if the abdication of Saadut Ali was to be followed by the establishment of a successor. The certainty that the evils by which the country was afflicted would be continued under such an arrangement, and the possible inconveniences to Saadut Ali himself, were pointed out, and the representation was fatal to the Vizier's resolution. He rejected the condition proposed to be attached to his retirement, and declared that, as the appointment of a successor was objected to, he was ready to abandon his design, and retain the charge of the government. Whether he had ever entertained any sincere intention of relinquishing it, is a question on which it is impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion.

The delivery of the letter to the Vizier, announcing the march of a body of the Company's troops to augment the British force in Oude, had been deferred pending the proceedings arising out of the Vizier's professed desire to abdicate. When that project was abandoned, the letter was presented. The proposed reinforcement also marched without further delay, and after multiplied subterfuges and evasions on the part of the Vizier, the process of disbanding his disorderly battalions commenced. The accom-

CHAP. XVII. plishment of this necessary measure required much care to avert dangerous consequences ; but the requisite care was not wanting, and the British authorities taking an interest in the inspection of the accounts, and the due discharge of arrears, the business proceeded with less difficulty than could have been anticipated, and without any disturbance of serious character.

While some progress was thus making in reforming the military affairs of Oude, its civil government remained in the same wretched circumstances by which it had ever been characterized. The Vizier took advantage of this to intimate the probability of an approaching failure of his engagements with the British government. This step accelerated a measure really necessary and important, but which the Vizier was most especially anxious to postpone—an inquiry into the cause of that misery and disorder which was universally spread over the fertile country subject to his administration. That cause, as pointed out by the governor-general, was the government. Adverting to the communication from the Vizier, the governor-general, in addressing Colonel Scott, says : “ Had the territories of Oude been subject to the frequent or occasional devastations of an enemy—had they been visited by unfavourable seasons, or by other calamities which impair the public prosperity, the rapid decline of the Vizier’s revenues might be imputed to other causes than a defective administration. But no such calamitous visita-

tions have afflicted the province of Oude, while, CHAP. XVII.
 in consequence of the protection which it derives
 from the presence of the British forces, it has been
 maintained, together with all the Company's pos-
 sessions on this side of India, in the uninterrupted
 enjoyment of peace. A defective administration of
 the government is therefore the only cause which
 can have produced so marked a difference between
 the state of his excellency's dominions and that of
 the contiguous territories of the Company. While
 the territories of the Company have been advancing
 progressively during the last ten years in prosperity,
 population, and opulence, the dominions of the
 Vizier, though enjoying equal advantages of tran-
 quillity and security, have rapidly and progressively
 declined.* A detail of particulars would amply
 bear out the general remarks above quoted. "I
 have repeatedly represented to your excellency,"
 said the governor-general, addressing the Vizier,
 "the effects of the ruinous expedient of anticipating
 the collections—the destructive practice of realizing
 them by force of arms—the annual diminution of the
 jumma† of the country—the precarious tenure by
 which the aumils and farmers hold their posses-
 sions—the misery of the lower classes of the people,
 absolutely excluded from the protection of the go-
 vernment—and the utter insecurity of life and pro-

* Letter from governor-general to Colonel Scott, 22nd January, 1801.

† The rental or assessment.

CHAP. XVII. perty throughout the province of Oude.”* These positions are illustrated by reference to facts then of recent occurrence; and the representation being addressed to the Vizier, the truth of the alleged facts would have been impugned had it been possible. The Vizier, indeed, had admitted the miserable condition of his revenue administration; and all authorities concur in exhibiting the state of his dominions as little removed from complete anarchy. Under these circumstances the continued payment of the British subsidy could not reasonably be relied upon; and the Vizier himself had, by his own suggestions, lent encouragement to those apprehensions which, on other grounds, there was abundant reason to entertain.

It has been seen that, at an early period of his administration, the Marquis Wellesley had been impressed with the necessity of obtaining territorial security for a part, at least, of the Vizier's pecuniary engagements with the British government.† The desire of abdication, which at one time the Vizier entertained or affected to entertain, suggested another mode of arrangement, which the governor-general now instructed the resident at Lucknow to press upon the consideration of the prince. This was the entire transfer of the government of the country, civil as well as military, to the Company, under suitable provisions for the main-

* Letter from governor-general to Vizier, 8th April, 1801.

† See page 163.

tenance of the Vizier and his family. Colonel Scott CHAP. XVII.
was directed to prepare the draft of a treaty for this purpose, on the model of the treaty concluded with the Rajah of Tanjore and that proposed to the Vizier at the period of his meditated abdication. In framing such a treaty, the resident was instructed to keep in view its primary objects—the abolition of abuses, and the substitution of “a wise and benevolent plan of government, calculated to inspire the people with confidence in the security of property and of life; to encourage industry; to protect the fruits of honest labour, and to establish order and submission to the just authority of the state, on the solid foundations of gratitude for benefits received and expectation of continued security:” but he was, at the same time, to defer to the inclinations and prejudices of the Vizier, as far as might be compatible with the attainment of the main objects of the treaty. The draft, when prepared, was to be submitted to the Vizier. If on receiving it he might manifest any disposition to accede to its general principles, but should desire some particular modifications, his suggestions were to be reserved for the decision of the governor-general. But as it was obviously more probable that he would reject the proposal altogether, this result was provided for. In that case the resident was to fall back on the plan which the governor-general had entertained from the moment of his entering on the duties of his office, and probably from an earlier period. The Vizier was to be informed that the funds for the

CHAP. XVII. regular payment of the subsidy must be placed without delay beyond the hazard of failure, and for this purpose the cession of territory of adequate extent was to be required. The Doab, including the tribute from Furruckabad, was to form part of the territory to be thus demanded, and Rohilcund was pointed out as an eligible addition. The possession of these provinces by the English would tend to remove the Vizier from foreign connections and foreign sources of danger; and it was suggested that their transfer would be less mortifying to him than that of any other portions of his dominions, inasmuch as they were not part of the more ancient possessions of his house, but had been acquired for it by the British arms.

The absence of the Vizier on a hunting excursion, and the subsequent celebration of a Mahometan festival, delayed for some time the execution of the orders of the governor-general. When the draft of the proposed treaty was at length submitted to the Vizier, his deportment was such as afforded no clue to his probable decision. He received the draft, with a letter addressed to him by the governor-general, without any manifestation of emotion, and engaged to communicate with Colonel Scott on the subject as soon as he should have fully considered it. Two days afterwards a second conference took place, when the Vizier, though he did not positively reject the first proposal—that of the total relinquishment of the government of Oude to the Company—displayed a strong repugnance to it.

Colonel Scott endeavoured to reconcile him to the CHAP. XVII.
arrangement by an appeal to his patriotic feelings,
but the attempt was a failure. The resident having
suggested that the sacrifice of feeling on the part of
the Vizier would be compensated by the satisfaction
which he would derive from witnessing the
increasing prosperity of the country and the hap-
piness of the people under the management of the
British government, the prince answered with great
candour, that, under the circumstances in which he
should be placed, the contemplation of these things
would not afford him the smallest gratification. He
referred to a letter of advice addressed to his
predecessor by Lord Cornwallis, which, though it
contained strong recommendations for the introduc-
tion of various reforms in the different branches of
government, left the execution of the proposed
measures to the hands of the Vizier and his minis-
ters. To this there was an obvious answer. Lord
Cornwallis quitted India in August, 1793: the con-
versation in which his advice was thus referred to
took place on the 26th February, 1801. A. D. 1801. The in-
terval was little less than eight years, and not one
step had been taken, either by the reigning Vizier
or his predecessor, towards carrying into effect any
portion of the salutary suggestions offered to them.
This, as the resident argued, shewed either that the
advice was disregarded, or that the power of acting
upon it was wanting, the latter supposition being
countenanced by the desire which the Vizier had
some time before professed to abdicate. The Vizier

CHAP. XVII. further represented that his own payments of subsidy had been punctual, while those of his predecessor had been irregular; and he urged that it would be time enough to demand security when failure actually took place. To this it was answered, that if that period were waited for, it would then not be within the reach of human wisdom or power to retrieve the affairs of an exhausted and depopulated country. The Vizier might have been reminded of his own expressed apprehension of its approach.*

After making some remarks on the proposed establishment of courts of justice, to which the prince seemed to entertain great dislike, he requested to be furnished, on a future day, with some account of the second proposal—that which was confined to the demand of territory as a security for the claims of the British government, which was afforded. Being now in possession of the

* The violence and oppression exercised in realizing the revenue have been adverted to; but it is further to be observed, that the Vizier seems to have strained his claim for the credit of punctuality quite as far as circumstances warranted. Though no actual default had occurred, there had been considerable hesitation in making payment, as appears from a passage in a letter from the governor-general to Mr. Lumsden, Colonel Scott's predecessor. "I wish," said his lordship, "the Nawaub could see that it would be a more dignified course to pay his subsidy without giving me the trouble of importuning him. He regularly falls into arrear, and as regularly pays up the arrear whenever he learns from me that it has attracted my notice. Would it not be more for his honour, and for my ease, if he would not wait for my application, but pay punctually as the subsidy becomes due?"

entire views of the governor-general, the Vizier CHAP. XVII.
formally and distinctly rejected both branches of
the alternative submitted to him. He could not, he
said, with his own hands, exclude himself from his
patrimonial dominions, "for," he naively asked,
"what advantage should I derive from so doing?"—
nor could he consent to any positive territorial ces-
sion by way of security for the British subsidy; and
the reason assigned for this refusal is truly wonder-
ful, when considered in relation to the character and
conduct of the Vizier. "I expect," said he, "to
derive the most substantial profits from bringing
into a flourishing condition this country, which has
so long been in a state of waste and ruin; by a
separation of territory my hopes of these substantial
profits would be entirely cut off." How lamentable
was it that the Vizier's good intentions had so long
slumbered—how extraordinary that they should
awaken just at the moment when security for his
engagements was demanded. He had occupied the
musnud for several years, and during that period,
either from inability or indisposition, he had done
nothing to rescue the country from that state of
"waste and ruin" into which it had fallen; but the
pleasure of continuing to be acknowledged lord of
this "heritage of woe" was not to be relinquished,
and in the hope of retaining it he had recourse to
representations to which no person of sound mind
could give even a qualified belief. They received
far more attention than they merited. The gover-
nor-general addressed a letter to the Vizier, tender-

CHAP. XVII. ing again the two proposals for acceptance, and answering at great length the objections of the prince, shewing that there was no hope for the abolition of the mass of abuses by which the country was overrun but in its transfer to the British government; and whether this desirable event should take place or not, exhibiting the right of that government to demand adequate security that its interests should not be involved in the general ruin. "It would be vain and fruitless," said the governor-general, "to attempt this arduous task"—that of thorough and effectual reformation—"by partial interference, or by imperfect modifications of a system of which every principle is founded in error and impolicy, and every instrument tainted with injustice and corruption. After long and mature deliberation," he continued, "I offer to your excellency a renewal of my former declaration, that the province of Oude cannot otherwise be preserved than by the gradual and regular operation of a system of administration founded on principles of substantial justice and of comprehensive policy, and enforced by all the power and energy of the English government." After illustrating some of the advantages of this plan, he added, "but whatever may be your excellency's sentiments with regard to the first proposition, the right of the Company to demand a cession of territory adequate to the security of the funds necessary for defraying the expense of our defensive engagements with your excellency is indisputable." That right was rested

principally upon the notorious facts, that the evils and abuses of the existing system of administration had greatly impaired the resources of the state, and the well-grounded inference that the causes of decay would continue to operate with increased and accelerated effect, until ultimately the prince should become unable to fulfil his engagements with the Company. The pretended expectations of the Vizier were justly met by an inquiry, whether he could reasonably hope to induce the governor-general, by this unsupported assertion, to rest the interests of the Company in the province of Oude on a foundation so precarious and insecure as the expectation of an improvement obstructed by the whole system of the Vizier's government, and by every relative circumstance in the state of his affairs.

The Vizier continued to withhold his assent to either proposal, and to endeavour, by a resort to all possible arts of evasion and delay, to defer the final settlement of the questions at issue between the British government and himself. At last he determined on a list of conditions or stipulations, to which he desired the assent of the governor-general before agreeing to the required cession of territory. They were in number eighteen, and related to a great variety of subjects. The first was a very characteristic one. It referred to the payment of the debts of Azoff-al-Dowlah, for which the Vizier congratulated himself he was not accountable, and, moreover, avowed that he was unable to provide; and, referring to the non-responsibility of the Company, seemed

CHAP. XVII. — to infer that their government would confirm the exemption which he claimed for himself. Other of the Vizier's demands pointed in the same direction. The fourth would appear, on a cursory reading, to be little more than idle verbiage ; but it had a deep and important meaning. It ran thus :—" Whatever hereditary rights of this state descended to the late Nawaub Azoff-al-Dowlah now devolve upon me his successor ; let me enjoy such rights exclusively, and let all the inheritances of my ancestors and the whole of the rights attached to my family centre in me, and let no person interfere in or assume them." Colonel Scott was sufficiently acquainted with native diplomacy, and with the character of the Vizier, to be induced to suspect that more was meant than met the eye. He imagined that it might be intended to recognize the right of the Vizier to appropriate the property of the Bho Begum, and, with some hesitation, this construction was acknowledged by a moulaty retained by the Vizier to be the correct one.

This was, therefore, an indication of a design on the part of the prince to resort to the same means of enriching his treasury which had been practised by his predecessor under the patronage of Warren Hastings. It was believed that, in addition to the strong appetite for accumulation which the Vizier manifested at all times and under all circumstances, there was a peculiar reason for the attention which he thus bestowed on the reputed wealth of the begum. With the view, probably, of securing,

during her own life, the enjoyment of that wealth, CHAP. XVII.
she had proposed to the British government to make the Company her heir. The imprudence of the begum, or of some of her dependants, had, it was supposed, suffered the secret to reach the ears of the Vizier, and the mysterious article by which he sought to fortify his claims to succeed to all that was enjoyed or inherited by his predecessor was apprehended to have been the result. The resident very fairly took occasion to contrast this article with the first, in which he disclaimed the debts of the prince whom he succeeded. He claimed all the property which his predecessor possessed, or to which he was entitled, but he would have nothing to do with that prince's liabilities. Colonel Scott inquired by what rule of equity the debtor and creditor sides of the account were to be thus separated, but it does not appear that he received any answer. The fifth article was not dissimilar in its object from that by which it was preceded. It was wide and sweeping in its range:—"Should any person," it ran, "have obtained, or hereafter obtain, by breach of trust or other means, possession of specie or property belonging to this circar, let no one obstruct my taking back such property or specie." Ostensibly this was not open to objection. No one could properly desire to protect the possession of property fraudulently obtained; but the effect of the provision would have been to secure to the Vizier the power of subjecting whom he pleased to those means of pressure by which Oriental potentates are

CHAP. XVII. accustomed to relieve wealthy subjects of a portion of their treasure. During the confusion that succeeded the death of Azoff-al-Dowlah, and continued through the short reign of Vizier Ali, it was suspected that much valuable property had been carried away from the private treasury, jewel-office, and wardrobe; and the suspicion was probably well founded. The British authorities did not wish to give impunity to these thefts, nor to screen from punishment those by whom it was merited; but neither did they wish to let loose on every person whom the Vizier might think a fit subject for experiment, the processes by which are tested the possession of property, and the degree in which the possessor is endued with the power of tenacity. Colonel Scott desired that the suspected persons might be pointed out, but he condemned the design of involving every person about the court in vexatious accusations. The thirteenth of the required stipulations was not less mysterious than some of those which had preceded it. It commenced with this recital:—"Some arrangement among the servants of the circar (state) calculated to diminish my expenses will become indispensable; and to obviate disturbances, it will become necessary to return such numbers only as can be paid monthly and regularly." These premises were followed by a very peremptory conclusion and a very sweeping demand:—"This arrangement can only be effected by dismissal, and I desire that no intercession be made for any person whatever." Who

were the persons destined for dismissal, and thus CHAP. XVII.
excluded from the benefit of intercession? Whom-
soever the Vizier pleased—his brothers—the begum
—the family of the deceased Vizier—the public
servants of the state, and all persons holding jaghires
or enjoying pensions. These provisions were in-
tended to afford the Vizier a field for plunder.
There were others, designed to secure to him the
privilege of misgoverning his dominions without
let or molestation. It was required that all corre-
spondence should in future be carried on directly
between the governor-general or the resident on the
one part, and the Vizier on the other, to the exclu-
sion of the ministers of the latter—"since the
present practice," said the prince, "is apt to render
such people contumacious." The resident was to
shut his ears to every thing but what the Vizier
chose should enter them: "Let the resident," he
said, "cordially and with sincerity uniting with me,
pay no sort of attention to the representations of
event-searching, self-interested persons." Further
it was demanded, that the British troops to be
paid by the Vizier should remain permanently
in the ceded countries, and that no interference,
except in the way of advice, should take place in
"any one" of the affairs—such were the Vizier's
words—of his government. Some of the proposed
conditions would seem almost to have been framed
with the intention of offering personal offence to
the governor-general. The imputations conveyed
in the following passages could not be misunder-

CHAP. XVII. stood :—" When the matters now under discussion shall have been finally adjusted, according to what his lordship has written, let no fresh claims, of whatever sort, be advanced ; let no increase be demanded." And again—" Let the engagements entered into between his lordship and this circar be firm and permanent, and let such a treaty be now drawn up, that no governor-general, who shall hereafter be appointed to the charge of the Company's affairs, may have it in his power to alter, change, or infringe the said treaty." Of the affronts thus offered to himself the governor-general took no notice ; but he rejected the whole of the proposed conditions, partly on the ground that the demand made on behalf of the Company being a matter of right, compliance ought to be unshackled with any conditions, even though they should be unobjectionable, and partly because the conditions proposed, so far from being of this character, were calculated to bring disgrace on the British name, and ruin to the honour of the Vizier, the dignity and security of his relations, and the happiness of his subjects. Adverting to the articles which manifested more especially the Vizier's dislike of British interference, the governor-general said : " From these articles it appears that the Nawaub Vizier has already forgotten that the safety of his person and the existence of his government have been maintained exclusively by the British power, and by the presence of British troops. His excellency now seems disposed to gratify his unwarrantable suspicions at the hazard of

the continuance of his authority over his subjects, CHAP. XVII.
and even of his personal safety, by removing the British forces from his territories, and by confiding his government and his life to those whose treason had repeatedly endangered both." Passing on to the articles which were designed to gratify the Vizier's avarice, the governor-general thus expressed his opinion with regard to them: "The object of those articles appears to be, under the shelter of the British name, to cancel all the public debts of the state of Oude; to defraud and plunder the ancient and venerable remains of the family and household of Shoojah-ad-Dowlah, together with whatever is respectable among the surviving relations and friends of the late Nawaub Azoff-al-Dowlah; to involve the whole nobility and gentry of Oude in vexatious accusations and extensive proscriptions; to deprive the established dependants and pensioners of the state of the means of subsistence; to frustrate every institution founded in the piety, munificence, or charity of preceding governments, and to spread over the whole country a general system of rapacious confiscation, arbitrary imprisonment, and cruel banishment."

The negotiation continued to drag on for several months without apparently making any progress. The Vizier, on being apprized of the determination of the governor-general in respect to the proposed stipulations, declared that without their concession on the part of the British government he would not yield his assent to either of the plans which had

CHAP. XVII. been submitted to him ; but while thus refusing to be a party to the separation of his dominions, he affected a spirit of meek and patient resignation, declared that he had neither inclination nor strength to resist, and expressed a desire to proceed on a pilgrimage. During his absence he proposed that one of his sons should be invested with the office of deputy, and be empowered to carry into effect the territorial cession, as well as to complete the yet imperfect measure of reducing the Vizier's military force.

Before this scheme was brought to the knowledge of the governor-general he had determined to dispatch his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley,* a gentleman endowed with singular talents for diplomacy, to co-operate with Colonel Scott in endeavouring to bring the British relations with the Vizier into a more satisfactory state. One motive to this step was the belief that the presence of one so nearly allied to the governor-general would have the effect of accelerating the Vizier's determination, and it was further intended to put an end to a hope which the Vizier was believed to entertain of procrastinating his decision till the arrival of the Marquis Wellesley on a visit, which he had long meditated, to the northern parts of India. To put an end to this hope, it was distinctly intimated that the governor-general was resolved not to hold any personal intercourse with the Vizier while the points in dispute remained undecided. Before Mr. Wellesley arrived, a premature intimation given by the resident to cer-

* Subsequently created Lord Cowley.

tain aumils as to the payment in the coming year of CHAP. XVII.
the revenues for which they were responsible, gave the Vizier a pretence for withholding payment of the kists actually due. There appears in this case something to blame on both sides. The Vizier ought not to have withheld payments actually secured by treaty, unless he proposed to put an end to the treaty and was able to maintain his intention by force. At the same time, as there was no immediate necessity for the intimation given by Colonel Scott, it was an outrage upon the feelings of the Vizier which might well have been spared. It was more especially imprudent and reprehensible, as the deputation of Mr. Henry Wellesley to a diplomatic mission at the court of the Vizier had been announced. Although this appointment did not relieve Colonel Scott from the duty of watching the conduct of the Vizier and his officers, nor preclude him from bringing the negotiations in the mean time to a favourable issue if it were within his power, it ought to have suggested a careful abstinence from any measure, not absolutely necessary, which was calculated to give offence, and thus to embarrass a discussion in the management of which another was soon to have a principal share.* The Vizier required that, as some reparation, the resident should call upon the aumils to pay their respects at the

* The Marquis Wellesley had issued instructions to suspend for a time all proceedings towards establishing the Company's authority in the districts the cession of which was denied; but Colonel Scott had not received them.

CHAP. XVII. prince's durbar as usual. This it appeared they had never ceased to do, and the resident, feeling that any such intimation from him would seem to indicate that the British government faltered in its determination, refused to give it. Eventually the Vizier made the necessary payments, to prevent, as he said, the Company's affairs from being embarrassed by his withholding them.

A. D. 1801. Mr. Wellesley arrived at Lucknow on the 3rd of September. On the 5th he presented to the Vizier a memorial, recounting the motives which had led to his mission, and referring to the determination of the governor-general to avoid a personal interview with the Vizier under the existing state of circumstances; warning him that no change in the British councils at home would affect the general tenor of the policy of the British government in India,* and that no relaxation would take place in pursuing the measures previously deemed necessary for the peace and prosperity of Oude and the security of the Company's dominions. The memorial

* Mr. Pitt and his chief supporters, Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, Lord Camden, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Dundas, had resigned office in consequence of the conscientious scruples of George III. to the proposed removal of the disabilities to which the Roman Catholics of Ireland were at that time subjected. Vague and incorrect reports of change had reached India some months before Mr. Wellesley's arrival at Lucknow (see a letter from the Marquis Wellesley to Colonel Scott, 21st June, 1801, contained in the Oude papers, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 25th and 28th of June, 1805), and it was uncertain what the Vizier might have heard, or what effect the intelligence might have had upon him.

concluded by calling the Vizier's attention to the first of the two proposals which had been submitted to him, and inviting a discussion of its terms. The Vizier engaged to consider the subject, and after several days delivered his answer, declining, as on previous occasions, to agree to any arrangement which might involve the sacrifice of his sovereignty. The British negotiators sought to shake this determination, but in vain. The Vizier was peremptory in avowing his rejection of the plan, and declared it to be unqualified. The discussion of the second proposal made to the Vizier by the governor-general was then resumed; and after several days had been consumed in profitless disputation, the prince signified his readiness to assent to it on certain conditions. These conditions were, that he should be permitted to depart on a pilgrimage; that his authority during his absence should be exercised by one of his sons, the right of resuming the government on his return being reserved to the Vizier, in the event of his being disposed to avail himself of it. The British negotiators felt some doubt as to the course which it would be expedient for them to pursue, but finally they determined to accept the Vizier's consent thus qualified. But a new difficulty was immediately interposed, by a demand from the prince for the introduction of an article, providing that as the territories to be ceded were to be entirely under the management and control of the Company, so those to be retained by him should be exclusively under his own, or that of his heirs and successors.

CHAP. XVII. This was so directly at variance with the views
— avowed on the part of the British authorities throughout the negotiations, and with one main object of the proposed new arrangement, that the Vizier must have known it could not be entertained. The presumption is, that the attempt to revive discussion upon a question long before set at rest was only made for the purpose of delay. Other expedients for procrastination were found with the facility usual with Oriental diplomatists on such occasions; but at length a treaty was concluded,
A.D. 1801. which on the 14th of November received the ratification of the governor-general. By this engagement the Vizier bound himself to cede territory yielding a revenue of one crore thirty-five thousand lacs, including expenses of collection, in commutation of all claims on the part of the British government, and he in return was released from all future demands on account of the protection of Oude or its dependencies. The engagement on the part of the Company to defend the Vizier from foreign and domestic enemies was repeated and confirmed, and the prince was restricted to the retention of a limited number of troops for purposes of state and revenue. A detachment of British troops, accompanied by a proportion of artillery, was to be at all times attached to the Vizier's person; the remainder were to be stationed in such parts of his dominions as might seem fit to the British government. The territories not ceded to the English were formally guaranteed to the Vizier, the guarantee being

accompanied by one of those provisions which the prince had been most anxious to avert—that in the exercise of his authority he was in all cases to be guided by the advice of the officers of the Company.

The proceedings, which have thus been reported at considerable length, must now be submitted to that examination to which all the acts of statesmen are justly subject. The right of increasing the number of troops stationed for the defence of Oude has been already discussed. It remains to consider whether the British government was justified in demanding either the entire surrender of the government of Oude, or the cession of so much territory as should cover the just claims of the Company, the latter part of the alternative being saddled with a condition, giving to the British authorities the power of interfering in the civil government of the remainder to an undefined extent.

The question whether it were lawful to propose to the Vizier to transfer his dominions entirely to the Company need give little trouble. The circumstances under which it was made are such as to deprive objectors of all reasonable and almost of all plausible ground of exception. There is no rule of morals which can preclude any individual or any community, any private person or any state, from inquiring whether any other individual, community, or state, be willing, upon certain conditions, or without any conditions, to surrender any thing which the party applied to may happen to possess. If a refusal

CHAP. XVII. be given, it is certain that in many cases it would be highly criminal to endeavour to obtain the object sought by violence; but a mere application, unsupported by force, is free from all imputation of moral delinquency, even though the object of it be unreasonable or extravagant. But the proposal to the Vizier to surrender his dominions was neither unreasonable nor extravagant. He was unable to defend them, and the trust had been committed to another power. He was equally unable to administer their internal government, the whole country being overrun by abuse and crime. He had himself acknowledged his incompetency to perform the duties of a sovereign, either with satisfaction to himself or benefit to his people; he had himself proposed to abdicate his throne, and it is to be recollected that by abdicating in favour of the Company he would have surrendered no rights but his own. His sons, by the accident of their birth, were deprived of all claims but what their father might choose to give them; and though it would have been unnatural and unjust to withhold from them the means of comfortable subsistence, he might without reproach withhold from any, or from all of them, the dangerous power of sovereignty, to which, except by his favour, they had no pretension. As to the effect of the suggested transfer upon the people, no one will be hardy enough to aver that the change would have been for the worse. Some indeed would have complained—the great renters and revenue contractors, who exercised without restraint the power to

pillage and oppress—all indeed who profited by the enormous mass of evil which existed in the dominions of the Vizier would have thought themselves aggrieved; but the people at large would have been immediately relieved from a portion of their sufferings; and though, in a country so long subjected to misgovernment, the progress of improvement must have been slow, it would, under the English authority, have been steady, had zeal in the good cause not outstript discretion. At all events, some improvement would have been certain. It appears, therefore, that in proposing the entire transfer of the dominions of the Vizier to the East-India Company, the governor-general proposed nothing that would have interfered with the rights of any one—nothing that, under the circumstances, could be believed to be disagreeable to the Vizier himself—while the advantages would not have been confined to the power which the Marquis Wellesley represented, but would have reached to the numerous and oppressed population which the Vizier professed to govern. The right to make the proposal being evident, and its rejection not having been followed by the employment of force, it would be unnecessary to say more on the subject, did not justice require the admission that the negotiators, to whom the care of the British interests at Oude was entrusted, do not appear on every occasion to have maintained that direct and straightforward course which the honour of their country demanded. This is a common error of diplomacy, and the instances

CHAP. XVII.

CHAP. XVII. in which the British agents fell into it were not numerous; but one glaring fallacy which they sought to impose on the Vizier must not be passed without notice. The Vizier had drawn up a paper, in which he had avowed very strongly his aversion to surrender his throne. On the ground that every point in it had before been thoroughly argued, the negotiators very reasonably deemed a fresh discussion a useless waste of time: but, in communicating this impression to the governor-general, they added, "there was, however, one part of it which it was necessary to notice. His excellency reasoned upon the first proposition"—that which suggested the entire transfer of his dominions to the Company—"as if the execution of it deprived him of the possession of the musnud; whereas the true extent and meaning of it, and indeed the primary object, was to establish himself and posterity more firmly and securely on the musnud, with all the state, dignity, and affluence, appertaining to his exalted situation. His excellency," the negotiators add, made "no reply to the above observation,"* and it certainly deserved none. In ordinary language, the throne indicates the exercise of sovereign power. To possess the musnud of Oude was not merely to occupy a certain seat, or to be addressed by a certain title: it involved the exercise of some, at least, of the functions of government. "State, dignity, and affluence," might, as promised, have awaited Saadut Ali on his descent. He might have given audience in royal

* Letter to governor-general, 17th September, 1801.

state; troops of dependants might have bent in
homage before him; he and his successors might
have borne the name of Vizier, in like manner as
the potentate from whom he derived the title, and
whose servant he professed to be, continued under
circumstances far more humiliating to maintain the
title of Emperor; wealth might have poured into
his cup all that could enchant the senses or corrupt
the heart; but it would be idle to represent this ag-
glomeration of the elements of pomp, and pride,
and pleasure as constituting what is meant when
sovereign power is shadowed forth under the name
of that which is its seat and symbol. Though the
forms of sovereignty would have remained to Saadut
Ali, its substance would have been gone. The
change, indeed, would have been happy for his
country, and not unfortunate for himself, but such
would have been its extent; and it was beneath the
character of British negotiators to represent it as
that which it was not.

It remains to be ascertained whether, on the re-
jection of his first proposal, the governor-general
was justifiable in demanding a cession of territory
of sufficient extent to secure the discharge of the
Vizier's engagements to the East-India Company,
and further, in demanding the recognition of the
right of the British government to interfere in the
administration of those territories which were not
ceded. The determination of the former of these
points must rest partly on the general rights of
creditors, and partly on the positive provisions of

CHAP. XVII. the treaty concluded with Saadut Ali on his elevation to the throne. A creditor who, at the time of concluding an engagement, may be satisfied with the mere promise of payment, may, at a future period, see cause to require some security. Should this occur, there is nothing wrong in his demanding it; and if his apprehensions be reasonable, there is nothing harsh in the demand. The British government had undertaken a certain duty in consideration of certain payments to reimburse the charges attending the performance of it. They had cause to apprehend the failure of payment—no less cause than the representations of the party from whom payment was to proceed. Did, then, the representative of the British government justly incur blame for requiring some security for the fulfilment of engagements which he who was bound by them declared to be in danger of failure? There was but one other course open to him—to withdraw from the protection of Oude, and leave the country to its fate. He must take an extraordinary view of the rights, duties, and policy of nations who would maintain that this step should have been taken. The East-India Company were not mercenary brokers in the trade of defending nations—they did not hire out their troops to the best bidder, to be retained so long as the hirer might want or could pay for them—nor was their connection with Oude intended to be temporary. It was deliberately formed and solemnly confirmed by various treaties. The object of the rulers had been to save the

country from falling a prey to its neighbours, which CHAP. XVII.
would undoubtedly have been its fate but for the protection of the British government; and that object had been attained. But it is not to be supposed that the Company's government were moved to what they had done by the desire of preserving dominion to a succession of ambitious vassals of the Mogul Emperor—they had views to the security of the British possessions, and those views would have been disappointed had Oude become a province of any neighbouring state. All the links of the chain by which Oude had been bound to the British government might not be of the purest or the brightest metal, but with this the governor-general of 1801 had nothing to do. He found a certain connection subsisting; that connection was beneficial to the country which he represented, and it was his duty to maintain it. It was his duty also to see that the conditions attached to it were performed, and if there were danger of their being evaded, he was bound to obtain security.

Thus far upon general principles. Turning to the treaty with Saadut Ali, it will be found that the eleventh article runs thus:—"As the payment of the Company's troops in Oude depends upon the regular discharge of the subsidy stated in the second and third articles of the treaty, the said Nawaub engages to exert his utmost endeavours to discharge the stipulated kists* with punctuality; but if, contrary to the sincere intentions and exertions of the

* Instalments.

CHAP. XVII. said Nawaub, the payment of the kists should fall into arrears, the said Nawaub Saadut Ali engages and promises that he will then give such security to the Company for the discharge of the existing arrears and the future regular payment of the kists as shall be deemed satisfactory." Here is a distinct provision for security in case of failure of payment. Saadut Ali had discharged his kists, but not without pressing. They had been continually in arrear, but remonstrance had not yet failed to procure a clearance. The occurrence of an arrear was, however, sufficient to bring the provision of the treaty into operation; although to act upon this construction would have been harsh, had there been reason to conclude that the future would not be marked by any greater deviations from punctuality than had occurred in the past. But this was not so. It has already been seen that the statements of the Vizier himself tended to excite the expectation of very different results. On the occurrence of the contingency for which the eleventh article of the treaty provided, he was to give security not only for existing arrears, but for future regular payment, and this security was to be such as should be deemed satisfactory. It would be ridiculous to ask, satisfactory to whom? It was certainly not intended that the Vizier should determine the point—a very slight security would satisfy him. If the provision have any meaning, that meaning must be that the security should be satisfactory to the Company's government. When necessary to enforce it, the head of

that government thought the cession of territory CHAP. XVII.
the only adequate security, and he thought justly.

What other could be given? The only question that could arise was, whether the cession should be temporary or permanent; and this might be answered by reference to the nature of the claim. It was not for a single sum, which, once paid, would put an end to all future demand; it was a claim of periodical occurrence, and of perpetual duration; it was the remuneration of an important service of unceasing necessity; and it was fitting, therefore, that the security should be permanent as was the claim and the service out of which it arose. This view is warranted by the terms of the article—security was, if necessary, to be given for “the future regular payment of the kists.”

The course taken by the governor-general, in demanding security for the payments accruing from the Vizier to the British government, is thus defensible, both on general grounds and under the terms of the treaty. Was he justified in carrying his views beyond this, and demanding such power of interference in the administration of the Vizier's reserved dominions as might be sufficient to abate part of the monstrous evils which prevailed in them? This question may be considered with reference to the ordinary rights and duties of nations towards each other, or with regard to the peculiar and unprecedented nature of the connection which exists between the British government in India and its subsidiary allies. To fix the limits of the right of one independent

CHAP. XVII. state to interfere in the internal affairs of another is a task of much difficulty and delicacy; but the practice of the most civilized nations seems conclusive as to the existence of the right. Various instances might be adduced of its exercise by European governments within the last half-century; and the right of intervention seems clear, when the course of events in an adjacent country is such as obviously tends towards confusion and anarchy. Every state is interested in the preservation of peace and order in neighbouring states, and the right of interference to maintain them is but part of the right of self-defence. Oude was rapidly passing—it would perhaps be more correct to say it had actually passed—into that state of barbarism in which the forms of government are all that remain, the power being altogether lost. The law had no force either to uphold civil rights or to punish crimes, and no man thought of invoking its aid. Within the palace of Lucknow sate one whose duty it was to restrain injustice and maintain right; but the people only knew of his existence by the heavy demands made on them in his name. They knew him only as the fountain and origin of oppression—never as the source of protection. Labouring under all the evils which follow when government is perverted altogether from its purpose, and when even the appearance of justice is disregarded, Oude was in a fearful condition with regard to itself, and not less so with regard to its neighbours; and it may safely be affirmed that, if ever a case existed in which one

state might properly interfere to introduce into another some approach to order, it was afforded by Oude. The interference was justified by the danger to the British dominions. Whether it would have been justified on another ground which might be taken—that of relieving the oppressed people of Oude—without reference to the interests of the British government, may be more doubtful; but the affirmative of this question is maintained by eminent jurists.*

* Among others, by Grotius, who argues, that if it were granted that subjects ought not, even under the most pressing necessity, to take up arms against their prince, we should not thence be obliged to conclude that others might not do it for them. "For wherever," says he, "the obstacle to any action arises from the person and not the thing, then what one is not allowed to do for himself another may do for him, supposing the case be such as one may be serviceable in it to another. Thus, for instance, a guardian or any other may carry on a suit of law for a minor, because he is not capable of doing it himself; and any one may, without order or commission, plead for a person absent. [This is said in reference to the office of *defensor*, under the Roman law, as opposed to *procurator*.] Now, what prohibits a subject to resist, does not at all proceed from a cause which is the same in a subject as in him who is not so, but from the quality and circumstances of the person, which quality does not pass to others. And therefore, according to Seneca, I may make war upon a man, though he and I are of different nations, if he disturb or molest his own country." In laying down this doctrine, Grotius was aware that it was very liable to be abused; and he goes on to argue, that the evil use of any thing by wicked men does not preclude its lawful employment with an honest intent; concluding with the significant remark—that "pirates sail on the seas and thieves draw swords as well as others."—*De Jure Belli et Pacis*, book ii., chap. 25. It may be remarked that the attempts of Great Britain to prevent foreign nations engaging in the slave-trade must be justified on principles not very dissimilar from those taken by Grotius.

CHAP. XVII. — But although to those whose sympathies with princes are strong, when those princes are the enemies of their country, it may be convenient to represent Oude as an independent state entitled to negotiate on terms of equality with the British government, no representation can be further from the truth. Oude had never been independent. It was a portion of the Mahometan empire of India, whose ruler acknowledged dependence upon the court of Delhi, and professed to have no right to govern but that which he derived from its pleasure. The measure of his obedience was, indeed, as happens in all such cases, proportioned to the degree of strength with which obedience could be enforced; but, theoretically, the position of Oude was that which has been stated. The weakness and ultimate disruption of the empire enabled the Emperor's deputy in Oude to take higher ground. He might have made a stand for the sovereignty on the plea of actual possession; but ambition led him to seek the extension of his dominions at the expense of his British neighbours, and by them he was vanquished. The series of events that followed continued to place him more and more within their power, until at length they came to exercise the highest possible act of superiority—that of determining the succession to the throne. This indeed was an inevitable consequence of their undertaking the military defence of the country. The power of the sword carries with it every other power. It does not give those who wield it the right of acting as they please—it does not relieve them from the ob-

ligations of justice and good faith, but it enables them to decide, without appeal, what justice and good faith demand. They are bound to decide according to right as far as their judgment enables them to discern right, and their responsibility is seriously increased by the fact that, whatever may be their decision, it cannot be effectually disputed, since they have at their command the power of enforcing it. CHAP. XVII.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the relation of two states, one of which undertakes the sole military defence of another, is totally different from the relation subsisting between an army and the civil power of the state to which it belongs. In the latter case the army is the creature of the civil power—it exists only by its will and for its purposes. So long as it is maintained, it is to execute the orders of the chief civil authority without hesitation and without question; and if required by the same authority to lay down its arms, it is bound to obey with equal promptness and decision. Not so when a state incurs the obligations imposed upon the British government by its connection with Oude, and another, like the latter, consents to transfer to a neighbour the right of defending it. The engagement, in such a case, is not between a civil and a military authority, but between two civil authorities—those of the contracting states, the one of which undertakes to employ, in subordination to itself, a portion of its military force in a prescribed service, while the other agrees to dispossess itself, wholly or in part, of

CHAP. XVII. its military power and trust for protection to its ally.

— From the moment that such a treaty is concluded, the one state is superior and the other dependent. The superiority is consequent on the maintenance of a military force, but it is not a superiority of military over civil power. The civil authority of the protecting state is pre-eminent, and employs an army as the instrument of maintaining its position and fulfilling its obligations. Such is the relation of the British government to the subsidiary states of India—such was its relation to Oude. Oude, therefore, was not independent—it was, in a certain sense, a portion of the British Indian empire—more properly so, perhaps, than it had ever been a portion of the Mahometan empire. In this view, could the British government be blamed for endeavouring to mitigate the oppressions under which the people groaned? Would it not by neglecting this duty have become a participator in the guilt of those to whom the ruin of the country was attributable? “The authority of the Nawaub of Oude,” said the Marquis Wellesley, addressing the Secret Committee, “was sustained exclusively by his connection with the Company’s government; and the reputation and honour of the British nation in India were deeply involved in the operation of that authority on the welfare and happiness of those countries over which it was upholden by the terror of our name, or exercised by the immediate force of our arms.”* If it be criminal to oppress, it is

* Letter to Secret Committee, 14th November, 1801.

criminal to lend to oppression countenance or support—this being granted, the right of the British government to interfere in the internal administration of the affairs of Oude is established. The policy pursued by the Marquis Wellesley towards Oude was not suggested, as had been some acts of his predecessors, by a desire to replenish an exhausted treasury—it had no connection, like the acts of others, with motives of private advantage—the grounds of it may be clearly stated in very few words. The increase of the British military force in Oude was necessary, and being necessary, the treaty with Saadut Ali provided for it. The demand of security for the payments accruing on account of this force was also necessary, in consequence of the indisputable, and indeed undisputed, fact, that without great change ruin must soon overwhelm all the resources of the country; and no adequate security could be afforded except in the way of territorial cession. In the territories retained by the Vizier, the British government had a right to interfere to protect the people; it had the power of interfering effectually; and having the right and the power, interference became a duty.*

* The policy pursued with regard to Oude was attacked in parliament soon after the return of the Marquis Wellesley to his own country; but no respectable party joined in the attack, and scarcely a respectable individual. It was headed by an obscure adventurer named Paull, who was under deep obligations to the nobleman whom he accused. These he repaid by endeavouring to subject his lordship to the expense, vexation, and anxiety, attending a parliamentary impeachment. At page 387, vol. ii., of Auber's

CHAP. XVII. When the treaty with the Vizier was ratified, the governor-general was on a progress through the

“ Rise and Progress of the British Power in India,” a curious letter is given, addressed by Mr. Paull, from Lucknow, to Sir John Malcolm, then Major Malcolm, and secretary to the governor-general. From this it appears, that Mr. Paull was engaged in some commercial business in Oude, which rendered his presence there necessary, but that the Vizier, who had taken some dislike to him, forbade it. By the intervention of the British government the objection was removed, and Mr. Paull not only took up his residence in Oude, but, as he states, lived “ mostly with Colonel Scott,” the British resident. In acknowledging the favour that had been shewn him, he says, “ As the most pernicious consequences must have attended a compliance with the very unjust request of his highness, I feel a proportionable degree of obligation to you, and a sense of gratitude that nothing can diminish.” Having acquitted his conscience towards the secretary, Mr. Paull proceeds, in due time, to discharge the same duty towards the governor-general. He had, it seems, addressed a paper to the marquis, complaining of some alleged grievances to which his commercial pursuits were still subjected, and this paper he feared, having been transmitted in an unusual mode, might not be well received. “ I sincerely hope and trust,” said he, “ that I have not offended his excellency in the mode I adopted of transmitting my address to his lordship. Colonel Scott, to whom I submitted it, thought it out of his department; and my friend Sydenham acquainted me that direct communication with Lord Wellesley was best. If, therefore, I have offended, it was most unintentional; *for sensibly do I feel the obligations I am under to his excellency, for whom I have only sentiments of gratitude and profound respect.*” In the same letter, Mr. Paull declared the Vizier to be a very dangerous, and, in his belief, a very bad man. The date of the letter is the 9th of February, 1803. On the 25th of June, 1805, Mr. Paull, having in the interim returned to England, and obtained a seat in parliament, moved for papers, on which he proposed to found charges of gross delinquency against the Marquis Wellesley, towards whom, a few months before, he had professed to entertain the feelings described in the passage above quoted—the transactions out of

northern provinces, undertaken with the view of CHAP. XVII.
 informing himself of their state more particularly
 than could be effected at Calcutta, of stimulating
 by his presence the zeal of the Company's civil and
 military servants, and ultimately of proceeding to
 Lucknow to complete the arrangements which had
 been begun and carried forward to a certain point
 by others. On the 10th of January, 1802, he was A.D. 1802.
 met at Cawnpore by the Vizier, who proceeded from
 his capital for the express purpose of conduct-
 ing the governor-general to Lucknow. Conclud-
 ing that the mind of the prince could not fail
 to be sore, from the effects of the long course of

which the charges arose, having taken place some time before
 Mr. Paull's letter was written, and under his own immediate ob-
 servation. It is unnecessary to ask, could such an accuser be an
 honest one? If it be said, that private feelings should not be
 allowed to interfere with the discharge of a public duty, the
 answer is, that a man should not accept of favours which he
 means to return with blows. But it is to be observed, that Mr.
 Paull's acknowledgments were not confined to the expression of
 gratitude—he avows also his “respect”—respect for a man
 whom he meditated bringing to the bar of the House of Lords,
 on charges of high crimes and misdemeanors! But it is idle to
 waste time in discussing the character of such an accusation,
 or of such an accuser. It will be enough to mention, that
 the Marquis Wellesley, though invited by the King to accept
 office, on the dissolution of the Grenville administration in 1807,
 declined it, on the ground of the charges pending against him.
 The obstacle was of brief duration. The unhappy man by
 whom the charges were brought involved himself, by a series of
 reckless imprudences, in difficulties of every kind, and in quarrels
 with every respectable person from whom he had ever met with
 countenance or support. His own hand terminated his life, and
 with him fell for ever the charges against his protector, the
 Marquis Wellesley.

CHAP. XVII. attrition which preceded the conclusion of the treaty, the governor-general judiciously resolved to defer all reference to the object of his visit till by the interchange of personal civilities opportunity might be afforded of softening any feelings of asperity that might find place in the Vizier's heart, and disposing him to some measure of cordiality and confidence. The attention of the governor-general was assiduously directed to this purpose, and as he was endowed in an eminent degree with those qualities which are calculated to win for their possessor the esteem and affection of those towards whom they are exercised, his hope of succeeding was reasonable. Soon after arriving at Lucknow, the governor-general had a private conference with the Vizier, in which the attention of the prince was directed to various points of considerable importance both to the English government and that of the Vizier. One of these was the necessity of immediately taking measures for introducing an improved system of administration into the Vizier's reserved dominions, in conformity with the treaty. This was further pressed at a subsequent interview, when the Vizier returned to that system of evasion which was habitual to him, and which was never relinquished but under the pressure of necessity, and then only for a very brief period. He admitted the existence of the abuses and evils pointed out, and acknowledged the propriety of the remedial measures proposed, but accompanied these admissions by mysterious complaints of his want of sufficient authority to check

the evils or enforce the remedies. All attempts to draw from him any explanation of the nature of the impediments thus darkly alluded to were vain; but a paper which he soon afterwards delivered shewed the point towards which his objections were directed. The master grievance was the check interposed by the presence and counsel of the British resident. It would be idle to expect that the existence of such a check could ever be rendered agreeable or even tolerable to a prince who loves the exercise of power. If, moreover, the love of power be accompanied by a desire to exercise it for bad purposes—for purposes which an honest British functionary must feel it his bounden duty to resist—the irksomeness of the restraint will be greatly increased. The hatred of restraint will thus become greater in proportion to the necessity for imposing it. Saadut Ali loved power; but still more did he love that which power enabled him to obtain. He had contracted an unconquerable aversion to Colonel Scott, but he stated his views in general terms, and without any apparent reference to that officer. It has been seen that the Vizier was much disposed to be his own minister; and he demanded that whatever advice the resident might have to give should be communicated to him, in the first instance, without the presence of any other person; and further, that the resident should not hold any communication with the Vizier's subjects, except through his intervention. This second demand was most properly rejected. In answering it, the governor-general laid

CHAP. XVII. down a principle which ought ever to be borne in mind under similar circumstances. "It appears," said he, "to be indispensably necessary for the resident's correct information, as well as for the maintenance of his authority, that he should maintain the most free and unrestrained intercourse and correspondence with all ranks and descriptions of people." The first point was conceded, on the understanding that the Vizier would not act in any important matter without the consent of the resident, whose judgment was to be final. The rejection of part of his demands gave great dissatisfaction to the prince. He resumed his proposal of proceeding on a pilgrimage, which had for some time slept; but finally he appears to have become reconciled to the circumstances in which he was placed, which he had no power of modifying, and which could not have been modified in any mode satisfactory to himself without inflicting gross injustice on his people. One object of the governor-general's visit to Lucknow was to arrange an exchange of territory, for the convenience of both parties interested, and this was effected without difficulty.

Among the cessions made by the Vizier to the British government was that of the tribute paid to the former by the Nabob of Furruckabad. The arrangement between these two princes was not unlike those between the British government and its subsidiary dependents. The Nabob of Furruckabad was restricted from maintaining more troops than were requisite for purposes of state, and the

Vizier was charged with the defence of the province both from internal and external enemies. The Nabob with whom the engagement was concluded, Muzuffer Jung, was murdered by his eldest son. The parricide escaped the severity of punishment which he well merited. His life was spared ; but he was carried to Lucknow and there confined by order of the Vizier. Consequent upon the conviction of the elder son, the inheritance was transferred to the second son of the murdered prince ; but he being a minor, it was necessary to appoint a manager. A person named Khirudmund Khan was selected for the office ; but having powerful enemies, who hoped to obtain an ascendancy in the new government for themselves, he refused to undertake it without the fullest assurance of support and protection from the British government. This was given, and the manager entered upon his office under the joint protection of that government and the Vizier.

The promise of support which Khirudmund Khan had required, the British government was, on various occasions, called on to fulfil. The enemies of the manager succeeded in establishing an unbounded influence over the mind of the young Nabob, and about the time of the changes at Oude, the Nabob, whose minority was nearly at an end, laid claim to the privilege of taking into his own hands the administration of affairs. Khirudmund Khan was equally anxious, or affected to be equally anxious, to be relieved from his charge, and to retire upon a

CHAP. XVII. provision which had been secured to him on the occurrence of such an event. The making some arrangement for conducting the affairs of Furruckabad was thus imperatively pressed upon the British government.

There was some difficulty in determining what that arrangement should be. According to Khirud-mund Khan, the disposition of the young Nabob was bad, and his natural propensities to evil had been aggravated by the advice and example of his associates. This representation, indeed, was to be received with caution, for the Nabob bore no good-will to the man by whom it was made, and the associates whom he charged with encouraging and multiplying the Nabob's vices were his own enemies, and had been competitors for the power which he exercised. He, too, was accused by the Nabob of abusing his office. On neither side do the accusations seem to have been substantiated; but on neither side were they destitute of probability. It is not incredible that an Oriental guardian should endeavour to profit unduly by his office—it is not incredible that an Oriental prince should find evil advisers and listen to them. In both cases the presumption lies against the parties accused.

The solution of the question in what manner the government of Furruckabad should in future be administered was entrusted by the governor-general to his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley, who had been placed at the head of a commission for the settlement of the ceded provinces with the title of lieu-

tenant-governor. Mr. Wellesley commenced his CHAP. XVII.
task by calling upon Khirudmund Khan to communicate his views with regard to the future government of the province. The manager displayed a truly eastern reluctance to any direct avowal of opinion ; but with some difficulty he was brought to state that three different modes suggested themselves to his mind :—that the administration of affairs should be continued in the same hands by which it had been carried on during the Nabob's minority ; that the Nabob, on the attainment of the proper age, should be allowed to assume the government ; or that the entire civil and military administration should be transferred to the British government. The first would probably have been the most agreeable to the manager : the last, he might expect, would be the most acceptable to his auditor ; but the wary officer contented himself with suggestion, and presumed not to say which of the suggested plans was the best. Mr. Wellesley did not conceal his own leaning in favour of the transfer of all power to the government which he represented, and Khirudmund Khan professed himself ready to promote his views ; but it is worthy of remark, that he never took a single step in furtherance of them. A proposal for the entire transfer of the Nabob's dominions to the Company was, however, made by Mr. Wellesley to the Nabob. The latter was very unwilling to relinquish the power to the enjoyment of which his hopes had so long been directed ; but he reluctantly yielded. The province of Fur-

CHAP. XVII. ruckabad was added to the dominions of the Company, and the Nabob was endowed with a splendid provision, the security of which was some satisfaction for the loss of the dependent sovereignty of which it was the price.

The transfer of Furruckabad to the Company was made under circumstances differing in some degree from those of any similar transaction under the same administration. At Tanjore the prince owed every thing to the British government. By its power he was rescued from danger and degradation, and raised to a state of high rank and dignity. The numerous evils existing in Tanjore had long called for searching remedies. Circumstances enabled the British government to apply them in the most effectual manner, and with the free consent of the rightful successor to the throne. In the Carnatic, the perfidy of Mahomet Ali and his son gave to the Company the right of exercising, in any manner necessary for their own security, the power which they wielded. Here, too, monstrous abuses were to be repressed, and the criminal folly of the Nabobs afforded opportunity for repressing them. In Oude, again, there was abundant cause for the interposition of some powerful authority to deliver the country from the oppression which weighed it down. In Oude, too, the prince, as in Tanjore, owed his elevation to the British government; but his right to the exercise of sovereignty having been recognized, was respected. It would have been very desirable that his dominions should have been trans-

ferred to the Company—desirable, not merely for CHAP. XVII.
them, but for the sake of humanity. The transfer
was asked, and being refused, another arrangement
was adopted. It was desirable, also, that Furrucka-
bad should pass altogether under the power of the
Company. Great reforms were necessary; more
especially as to the maintenance of civil rights, the
prevention of crime, and the preservation of the
public peace. Courts of justice seem to have been
regarded as unnecessary instruments of luxury; rob-
beries and murders were acts of constant occurrence,
and no means were taken either to prevent or to
punish them. Furruckabad was thus at once un-
happy in itself and a source of alarm to its neighbours.
It had previously been dependent—the dependent of
a dependent—an appendage to the dominions of the
Vizier, himself the creature of the British govern-
ment. The Nabob, like his master, had given
up the power and the right of defending himself,
and retained only those functions of government
which rendered him formidable to his own subjects.
It cannot be doubted that the interference of the
British government was warranted, and that it
might lawfully have insisted on exercising the same
power of supervision which had been obtained in
Oude. Such a plan seems, from the following
passage of a letter from Mr. Henry Wellesley to
the governor-general, to have been meditated. “I
should be unwilling,” said he, “to assume the man-
agement of the province of Furruckabad without
the Nabob’s concurrence; but should he persist in

CHAP. XVII. withholding his consent to such an arrangement, we have certainly a well-founded claim to a portion of territory equal to the amount of the tribute, and to the expenses of collecting the amount. In the event, therefore, of his rejection of the proposal of transferring the whole province to the authority of the British government, it is my intention to demand the cession of a portion of territory equal to the amount of the tribute, and to the expenses of collection. I shall likewise insist upon the establishment of civil and criminal courts of justice throughout the province of Furruckabad, and upon security being given for the regular payment of the several stipends and pensions.”* It does not, however, appear that the alternative offered to the Vizier was tendered to the Nabob of Furruckabad. The only plan suggested to him was the transfer of his entire authority to the Company. He objected, but his opposition was offered with the deference natural to a weak power when contending with a strong one. He claimed the same degree of indulgence which had been extended by the Company to other dependent princes, but in vain; and the governor-general’s representative seems to have displayed great anxiety to bring the affair to a conclusion, lest a necessity should arise either for allowing the Nabob to succeed to some limited exercise of dominion, or of forcibly dispossessing him of that which he claimed to retain. Whether the Nabob would have been benefited by being entrusted with power may reasonably

* Letter to governor-general, 4th May, 1802.

admit of doubt; that it was for the advantage of CHAP. XVII.
 his country to pass under British dominion is open
 to none. Still it is to be wished that the transfer
 had been effected in a less summary manner. It is
 the only transaction of the time in which the most
 scrupulous judgment, if honest and enlightened, can
 discover any thing to detract from the feeling of
 perfect satisfaction.

The duty of settling the provinces acquired from
 the Vizier was performed by Mr. Henry Wellesley
 in a manner which secured for him the approbation
 of all to whom he was responsible. Some overgrown
 zemindars, who were disaffected to the new govern-
 ment because it tended to restrain the power which
 they had been long accustomed to abuse, offered re-
 sistance, which in a few instances was formidable; but
 they were ultimately subdued, and the entire coun-
 try submitted peaceably to the British authority.
 Mr. Wellesley, on the close of his duties in the
 ceded provinces, departed for Europe, having esta-
 blished the reputation of an able public servant.*

* The appointment of Mr. Henry Wellesley was condemned
 by the Court of Directors as an interference with the rights of
 their civil service, and at variance with the provisions of the law.
 The Board of Commissioners, on the other hand, were disposed
 to defend the conduct of the governor-general. Perhaps neither
 the governor-general nor the Court incurred much of just re-
 proach by the different views which they took of the subject.
 The Court were undoubtedly right to this extent—on all ordinary
 occasions the exercise of high office under the Indian government
 should be restricted to the covenanted servants of the Company.
 If this rule were frequently violated, the just expectations of the
 service would be defeated, and not less the purposes designed in

CHAP. XVII. the maintenance of such a service. But it does not appear that the appointment in question was liable to the charge of illegality. The Court referred to the 33 Geo. 3, cap. 52, sec. 57; but if the construction which they sought to give this act be correct, no member of the military service could ever be appointed to a civil office. It will hereafter be seen that an attempt was made to extend the interpretation of the law thus far. It is needless to say that such a construction of the law is not the usual one, the instances of military men being appointed to civil offices being too numerous to require or to permit of reference. Still the members of the civil service have undoubtedly the best claims to civil office, and it is only under peculiar circumstances that any other should be appointed. In the case of Mr. Henry Wellesley peculiar circumstances existed. He was nominated to conduct the negotiation with the Vizier, not only because he was a man of great ability, but because his near relationship to the governor-general was calculated to secure for him an extraordinary degree of attention and influence. His subsequent appointment to settle the ceded districts resulted from the former; and the title attached to his office indicated that it was of an extraordinary character. The governor-general ought not to be blamed for taking the best means—the best, apart from all considerations of comparative ability—for attaining the object which he had in view; nor should the Court of Directors be censured for evincing a jealousy of even an apparent invasion of the rights of their servants.

The following passage from a letter addressed by the Board of Commissioners to the Court of Directors, in reference to some representation from the latter on the subject, distinctly shews the disinterested character of the transaction:—"We have the less hesitation in recommending this course of proceeding [the suspension of any expression of opinion on the subject] as it appears by the advices from Bengal, received subsequent to the paragraph in question being approved by the Court [a paragraph disapproving of the appointment, and directing Mr. Wellesley's removal], that Mr. Henry Wellesley receives no emoluments whatever from the late appointment beyond those which he before enjoyed, under the special authority of the Court of Directors, as private secretary to the governor-general. This is a circumstance which we are satisfied the Court, regard being had to the importance and responsibility

of the trust, will not only consider as peculiarly honourable to CHAP. XVII.
Mr. Wellesley, but also as furnishing in itself, as far as the present proceedings might in future be hazardous as a precedent, no inconsiderable security against such a danger; especially as we may at all times safely rely on the vigilance and authority with which the Court will be prepared to enforce the regulations of its own service, whenever it shall appear to them that they have been unwisely or unnecessarily infringed." See, on this subject, Despatches, vol. v. pages 71 to 81.

CHAPTER XVIII.

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A.D. 1802.

ON the 1st of January, 1802, at a time when his policy was everywhere throughout India crowned with the most brilliant success, the Marquis Wellesley addressed to the Court of Directors a despatch, intimating his desire to resign his office at the close of that year or the commencement of the succeeding one. The desire of the governor-general to be thus early relieved from an office in which he had rendered to his country such splendid service, and acquired for himself so much honour, would be inexplicable without reference to the feelings with which he was regarded at home. In his official despatch he did not enter into the reasons which led to the tender of his resignation, but other documents supply the deficiency.* He had not the confidence of the Court of Directors, and he felt it. They had, on various occasions, issued orders which the governor-general felt as

* Especially a letter to Mr. Addington, dated ten days after the despatch referred to in the text, and contained in vol. ii. of the Despatches.

offensive to himself, and others which he viewed as dangerous to the public service.

Among these was a peremptory order to reduce the army, especially in the peninsula. This arrived at a time when it could not be obeyed without putting in hazard not only recent conquests, but the entire fabric of the British empire in India. The governor-general suspended its execution, and, as will hereafter be seen, subsequent events amply justified the exercise of this discretion. As the increase of the army had been the act of the governor-general, he considered the order for its reduction to have been framed in a spirit of personal hostility; but it was probably only the offspring of a blind economy. Some other instances of frugality would seem to be more open to the suspicion of personal aim. Colonel Wellesley, who held the chief command in Mysore, was by the nature of his duties subjected to heavy expenses. His allowances were consequently fixed by the government of Madras on a liberal scale. The home authorities thought them too great. On this subject his lordship expressed himself in the language of indignant remonstrance. After stating that though the duty of fixing the allowances of Colonel Wellesley was part of the ordinary detail of the government of Madras, with which the governor-general did not interfere, except in cases of exigency, it must yet be reasonably supposed that he was cognizant of the subject, and had exercised his judgment with regard to it, although no record of such judgment might exist, the marquis demands,

“Can the Court of Directors suppose that I am capable of permitting the government of Fort St. George to grant an extravagant allowance to my brother, and that my brother is capable of accepting such an allowance? If such be the opinion of the Court, it ought to remove Colonel Wellesley from his command and me from my government.”* He continues: “The fact is, that the allowance is scarcely equal to the unavoidable expenses of Colonel Wellesley’s situation, which is known to be of a very peculiar nature, involving the necessity of a great establishment and of other charges requisite for the maintenance of our interest in that recently conquered kingdom.” After dwelling upon the affront offered to his brother, and its possible effect, the governor-general adds: “It cannot be denied that the Court, by reducing the established allowances of Colonel Wellesley, has offered me the most direct, marked, and disgusting personal indignity which could be devised. The effect of this order must be, to inculcate an opinion that I have suffered my brother to derive emoluments beyond the limits of justice and propriety; and that I have exhibited an example of profusion and extravagance in an allowance granted to my nearest connection. I have already stated that the ground of the order is as unjust and unwarranted in point of fact as its operation is calculated to be injurious and humiliating to my reputation and

* Letter to Mr. Addington, ut supra.

honour. If the Court of Directors really was of opinion that Colonel Wellesley's allowances were too high, the respectful and decorous course would have been to have referred the question to my consideration; nor can it be imagined that the Court would have omitted so indispensable a precaution of delicacy and justice, unless the Court acted under a strong sense of displeasure and discontent at the general tenor of my administration, and under the influence of an unconquerable jealousy of my intentions."

This passage affords a clue to some of the acts of which the governor-general complained. There was at home a strong feeling "of displeasure and discontent at the general tenor of" the Marquis Wellesley's "administration," and "an unconquerable jealousy of" his "intentions." He had added greatly to the British dominions in India, and had still more widely extended British influence. This, in the eyes of the politicians who had been educated in the school which flourished for thirty years from the time of Warren Hastings, was an offence not to be expiated. As neither defence nor conquest can be effected without armies, and the maintenance and equipment of armies require money, the great designs, which had been promoted with unparalleled vigour and success, had necessarily given rise to an increased military expenditure. The views of France had been counteracted; Tippoo, the old and irreconcilable enemy of England, had been subdued; and the British government in India,

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in place of being at best a second-rate power, as the Marquis Wellesley had found it, was now in a position to give law to the varied nations diffused over Hindostan and the Deccan. The policy which had led to these results was not that which had so long formed a standing topic for the advocacy of frothy orators and wordy pamphleteers—it was not that which had been embodied in every form that folly, under the guise of prudence or of generosity or of justice, could assume—which had even found a solemn recognition of its truth in the resolutions of parliament and on the statute-book of the country—it was not the policy which the Marquis Cornwallis, both a good and an able man, had upheld in words, while, with marvellous inconsistency, he departed from it in deeds, but which his successor had followed with greater single-mindedness, and with a steady adherence which, pursued a few years more, would have brought the British settlements to that state in which Clive found Bengal when he undertook its deliverance—far above this soared the policy of the Marquis Wellesley—far above the understanding of those puny politicians who had been accustomed to talk fluently about the government of India, in ignorance alike of the circumstances of the country, of the great principles of general polity, and of the lessons which history affords to those who will profit by them. A body popularly elected must always partake, in a great degree, of the feelings and prejudices of those whom they represent. The views of those who

looked to India, not to consider how we should maintain our power there, but rather how we should get rid of it, or at least prevent its increase, formed part of the popular creed on the subject, and of natural consequence those views found their way into the Court of Directors. It is true that they could hardly be avowed there or anywhere else. The subjugation of Tippoo Sultan was so complete; the glory which attended it was so brilliant; the war was withal so obviously necessary, that it was scarcely possible to impugn it. None did impugn it. The enthusiasm with which the news of the conquest of Mysore was received in England—the unanimous admiration which was awarded to its author, were probably aided by the consideration that the conquest of Tippoo was virtually a defeat of the French; for though the English people at that period found it hard to conceive that lawful occasion for war could ever arise in India, they were quite alive to the existence of dangers nearer home. When between themselves and a powerful and deadly enemy a narrow channel only intervened, a blow at that enemy was welcome even though it were struck in India. Still beneath the stream of gratulation called forth by the fall of Seringapatam and its master, there was an under-current of long-established prejudice flowing in an opposite direction, which, as the former subsided, appeared once more on the surface, and carried with it that numerous class of light and wandering minds, who, having no

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opinions of their own, readily adopt those which happen from any cause to be generally received—and thus, ere long, the services of the Marquis Wellesley came to be associated with the returning recollection that they had been performed without respect to established prejudices, although those prejudices were sanctioned by the wisdom of parliament.

Then, too, though the Marquis Wellesley had effected great objects—though he had given safety, coherence, stability, and grandeur, to the tottering fabric which had been committed to his keeping, one thing was wanting—he had not performed the miracle of moving large armies, conquering formidable enemies, and defending a vast extent of country, without a considerable outlay of money. To that spirit which looks at the cost rather than the value of any measure, this could not fail to be offensive. Nations have been ruined by profusion, but this has been when wealth has been lavished in ministering to the sensual delights of their rulers—in enriching parasites and flatterers—in heaping on the unworthy and the base those treasures which should have been devoted to objects of national importance. No nation was ever ruined—no nation was ever impoverished, by keeping its fleets and armies in such a state of efficiency as should render it secure at home and respected abroad; but neglect of these precautions may be fatal, and the ruin that may ensue will not be alleviated, nor those involved in

it consoled, by the recollection that the neglect had its origin in a motive very laudable in its place—the desire of diminishing the burdens of the state.

These feelings—the morbid sentiment, which, while it allowed Englishmen in all parts of the world except India to keep their foes at a distance, called upon them there to wait till the matchlock was presented, or the scimitar raised ; and that spirit of thriftless parsimony which sees no evil but the expenditure of money, had tended to produce what the Marquis Wellesley describes as “ a strong sense of displeasure and discontent at the general tenor of” his “ administration.” But this was not all : he believed, and not without reason, that those by whom he was thwarted acted “ under the influence of an unconquerable jealousy of” his “ intentions.” They augured of the future from the past. They had found the Marquis Wellesley a very different governor-general from his predecessor—they had learned, that while the reins of power were in his hands, no one throughout India would be permitted with impunity to offer to the British government either injury or insult. The man whose name had so long been a terror in India had fallen before him. The governor-general had braved Tippoo Sultan in his lair, and the name and dynasty of that prince had disappeared. Some other enemy might call for chastisement, and the same results might follow. The governor-general had so distributed the domi-

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nions of the conquered despot that a large portion of them had become British in name, and nearly the whole British in fact. If just cause of provocation should arise in other cases, what was to prevent a repetition of this course? and if it should be repeated, what would become of all the virtuous denunciations of extended dominion in which individual philanthropists had indulged, and of the prohibitions by which parliament had sought to limit the glory, power, and resources of the British empire? what of the numerous prophecies which had been uttered, of ruin to Great Britain from the enlargement of her Eastern empire? If ruin did not follow, and the prophecies were thus falsified, what, above all, was to become of the credit of the prophets? Where such views and such fears were entertained, how could confidence be reposed in the Marquis Wellesley? How could those who cherished them regard his intentions with any feeling but that of jealousy? Every ship that arrived might be expected to bring intelligence of some fresh act by which, in the exercise of an enlightened and manly policy, he had again offered violence to the petty and impracticable rules by which the legislature had sentenced India to be governed. Some new outbreak of patriotic feeling—some new triumph bearing witness to the governor-general's sagacity and decision, and crushing to dust the miserable theories laid down for his guidance, might constantly be apprehended. The opponents of the

Marquis Wellesley were thus not only dissatisfied with his past acts, but they looked to the future with dismay. He who in so short a time had changed the face of India, might change it still more—might make the British power still greater, and more irresistible, than he had made it. On these grounds, those who differed from his views entertained “an unconquerable jealousy of” his “intentions.”

It must not be supposed that all who felt this jealousy were insensible to their country's honour or adverse to its interests. Circumstances had led men to reason with regard to India as they would not reason with regard to any other spot of the habitable earth. The opinions once so current concerning India—opinions which, had they been acted upon, would long ago have relieved the English people from the labour of considering how their Oriental empire should be governed—have not been applied elsewhere. Men who contended in blood against the separation from Great Britain of her transatlantic possessions, have been willing to leave British India a prey to either native adventurers or European enemies. Men who would rather have seen Britain engulfed in the ocean which surrounds her, than yield her claim to the rock of Gibraltar, have deemed the most magnificent empire ever held in dependence as scarcely worth the keeping. It would be tedious to discuss at length the causes of these hallucinations. They exist, and all statesmen whose views have been free from such delusions have re-

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ceived very annoying evidence of their existence. The Marquis Wellesley, it has been seen, did not escape this fate.

But darkness of political vision and undue parsimony were not the only sources of the hostility directed against the Marquis Wellesley. A body of men, who at that time exercised a very powerful interest in the councils of the Company, conceived that their interests were injuriously affected by some measures adopted by the governor-general with regard to trade. The Company's monopoly had a few years before been relaxed, by an enactment requiring them to provide a certain amount of tonnage annually for the use of private merchants. As far as the export trade from Great Britain was concerned, the extent of the provision was probably sufficient, as at that time there was little demand in India for British manufactures; but it was not sufficient for the return trade. There was throughout Europe a considerable demand for various articles which India could furnish, and the supply of this opened a convenient mode of remittance to persons who had acquired fortunes in that country which they proposed to invest and enjoy at home. From this state of things a large portion of the exports of India found their way to Europe in foreign shipping, though the trade was supported and carried on by British capital—the accumulations of the servants of the East-India Company. For this state of things there was no remedy but the employment of India-built shipping, to an extent which

might supply the deficiency in the Company's tonnage; thus diverting a valuable and increasing department of trade from foreign to British ships. Though in England extraordinary delicacy of feeling had been manifested with regard to Indian princes, though the exercise of the right of self-defence has been almost proscribed in their favour, little sympathy has ever been displayed towards the people at large. Subjected to British rule, they had been treated as aliens, and denied rights enjoyed by every other class of British subjects. The London ship-builders chose to consider the extension of justice to India as an act of injustice to them. Some time before the departure of the Marquis Wellesley they remonstrated against it, and though it was obvious that the employment of India-built ships would displace not British but foreign tonnage, they demanded its prohibition. The degree of justice attending this demand is accurately and forcibly depicted in a communication from Mr. Dundas, then President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to the chairman of the committee of ship-builders. "The injustice of the proposition," says he, "consists in depriving a great description of the subjects of Great Britain of a right undoubtedly belonging to them. The British territories in India are under the sovereignty of Great Britain, and the ships built there are equally entitled to all the privileges of British-built shipping as those built in the West Indies, or Canada, or any other foreign dependency

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of the empire; and I have never heard that the ship-builders in Great Britain have set up a claim to prohibit any of the shipping in those quarters from bringing home the produce of these territories in ships of their own building, if they found it convenient to do so; and yet it is obvious that the same plea of interest and supposed injury would equally apply.* Having vindicated the rights of the people of India to be regarded as British subjects—a right seldom thought of by the declaimers on Indian wrongs, the writer proceeded to shew that the view taken by those whom he was addressing, of their own interests and those of the British nation, were erroneous, observing:—"They (the ship-builders) conceive that the prohibition of Indian-built ships coming to Great Britain would make a proportionate degree of room for the shipping of the East-India Company. It would have no such effect. It would have no other effect than that which it has always had, of driving those ships, with their cargoes, into foreign ports, and thereby establishing in foreign countries an Asiatic commerce, founded on British capital, which, by a contrary policy, ought, in the first place, to centre in the river Thames, and be from thence re-exported for the supply of other European nations." Sound as were these views, they failed to satisfy the shipping interest, which continued to employ its vast influence in the

* Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to John Perry, Esq., 1st July, 1797. It will be found in vol. v. of the Wellealey Despatches.

courts of the East-India Company to withhold from the shipping of India all participation in the trade carried on between that country and Great Britain.

The necessity, however, of providing some extent of extra tonnage was so apparent, that it was impossible to resist it. Accordingly, authority was given to the government of Bengal to take up a limited amount of tonnage on account of the Company, and relet it to the merchants of Calcutta. The Marquis Wellesley, on his arrival at that place, had been assailed by representations from the mercantile community in favour of the employment of India-built ships, and in carrying into effect the orders from home, he made some changes calculated to divest the authorized measure of some incumbrances which tended to impede its beneficial operation. He took the same course at a subsequent period, and thus at once earned the gratitude of the mercantile interest of India, and the relentless enmity of the ship-builders of the port of London. Between the two periods of granting indulgence to India-built ships a year had intervened, during which it had not been resorted to; and the experience of that year was stated by the governor-general to have attested the expediency of restoring it. "Goods to a large amount," he said, "originally intended for the port of London, were sold to foreigners in the port of Calcutta, and thus diverted to the channel of the foreign trade."* This result

* Letter to Court of Directors, 30th September, 1800.

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appeared to the governor-general to justify a return to the position of the preceding year. "The rapid growth," said he, "of the foreign trade during the last season urgently demanded the immediate interference of your government on the spot. The number of foreign ships actually in the port of Calcutta, the alacrity, enterprize, and skill of the foreign agents now assiduously employed in providing cargoes, and the necessary inaction and languor of the British private trade, embarrassed by the restraints of the existing law, created a serious apprehension in my mind that any further delay in the decision of this momentous question might occasion evils of which the remedy might hereafter become considerably difficult, if not absolutely impracticable. The unrestrained progress of the foreign trade in the present season, added to its great increase during the last, might have established its predominance over the private trade of British subjects to an extent which no future regulation might have proved sufficient to limit or restrain. The difficulty of diverting this lucrative commerce from the channel into which it had been forced would naturally be aggravated in proportion to the length of time during which the trade should continue to flow in that course." Such were the views, or rather such was the necessity, under which the governor-general acted. It is a case in which it is impossible to assign to his conduct any motive but a sense of public duty. He did not desire the responsibility which circumstances forced upon him, but was anxious to be relieved

from it. He complained, in a letter to Mr. Dundas, that the private tonnage had given him great trouble; and adds—"I shall endeavour to proceed at least so far as to prevent the trade from taking a bent towards foreign European markets this year; and you ought, in justice to my situation, to decide the question at home."* Yet, while thus suspending for a season the operation of measures which he felt to be just, wise, and necessary; while seeking to be relieved from the painful duty of upholding them on his own responsibility, he incurred the resentment of those who supposed themselves injured by those measures, and thus added another active ingredient to the elements of opposition which were fermenting at home.

After tracing to their sources, the hostile feelings manifested towards one who had exercised the powers entrusted to him with an ability and success unequalled by any of his predecessors, it will be proper to advert briefly to such manifestations of those feelings as have not hitherto been noticed. The orders to reduce the army have been mentioned, as well as those relating to the allowances of Colonel Wellesley. The Court had, in other instances, animadverted on measures of policy in a manner which the governor-general regarded as offensive. On some of these points he appears to have felt a degree of indignation which, at this distance of time, seems scarcely warranted by the occasion. But high genius is ever associated with

* See Wellesley Despatches, vol. ii. page 203.

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strong sensibility. The Marquis Wellesley knew his own purity; he knew also the feelings with which he was regarded at home; and it need excite no surprise, if, irritated by annoyances which he thought an ungracious return for his eminent services, he should have alluded to some of them with more impatience than they now seem calculated to excite.

The attacks from home were not confined to the emoluments of those in whom the governor-general reposed confidence: in various instances their removal from the offices which they enjoyed was directed, and the appointment of other persons, specially named, enjoined. He who studies the history of British India cannot fail to be gratified as he advances, by finding that matters merely personal became of less frequent recurrence and of less prominent interest. For a long period personal disputes occupy a very large portion of the scene: these are, after a time, almost entirely superseded by questions of higher interest. Amidst the great events which mark the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, it would be wrong to pause for the purpose of discussing the merits of the servants of the government, except so far as they were connected with those important facts which it is more especially the province of history to record. A very brief notice of the acts of the Court, in displacing certain servants from office and appointing others, must therefore suffice. The governor-general had appointed Colonel Kirkpatrick secretary in the political depart-

ment. The Court ordered the appointment to be rescinded, on the ground that his military commission disqualified him for civil office. This was a new construction of the law, and certainly had the appearance of having been specially devised for the occasion. The Marquis Wellesley was not the first governor-general who had nominated military men to political or civil duties. He found the practice to a certain extent existing; and it is not inapplicable to remark, that it has never been entirely discontinued. The general rule, undoubtedly, should be to distribute civil appointments among the members of the civil service; but, with reference to the peculiar delicacy and difficulty of the political offices under the governor-general, it may sometimes become necessary to dispense with the rule. Where a military officer possesses a pre-eminent degree of fitness for such an appointment, it is obviously not for the benefit of the public service to pass him by. On the same principle which was applied to Colonel Kirkpatrick, orders were given to revise the appointment of Colonel Scott at Lucknow, with a view to rescind it. This was certainly an ungracious step towards both the governor-general and Colonel Scott. A most important negotiation had been brought to a successful conclusion—that which had been done was formally approved from home—yet discouragement, and, indirectly, blame, were cast both on him who had devised the plan and on him by whom it had been carried into effect. In other instances, both at Bengal and Madras, the Court had directed

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changes having no reference to the principle applicable to those above noticed, or to any other that can now be discovered. The home authorities rarely interfere in the exercise of the local patronage of India, but in the way of check and control. The advantage derived from the power of superintendence and revision would, it is clear, be lost, if the Court were to dispose, in the first instance, of the offices of the Indian government: they have accordingly, for a long series of years, exercised great caution in interfering with the distribution of office in India. Where an officer has been unjustly removed, the power of the Court may properly be exerted to restore him; but in ordinary cases, it is certain that the assumption by the home authorities of the right of dispensing the local patronage would be subject to great suspicion, and might possibly give rise to great abuse.* The Marquis Wellesley believed that the extraordinary interference from home was intended to give personal annoyance to himself and Lord Clive. The latter nobleman entertained the same impression. He had entered cordially and zealously into the policy of the Marquis Wellesley, and the hostility displayed towards the governor-general was believed for this reason to be extended to the governor of Fort St. George.

There was one further ground of difference between the Court of Directors and their governor-general, which, although it had not been fully developed, it will be convenient to notice here, to avoid

* Sec. 81 of 53 Geo. 3, cap. 155, was specially designed to meet this evil.

interrupting the progress of the narrative hereafter. The altered situation of the Company had not at this time produced any alteration in the mode of selecting their servants, or of preparing them for their duties. The Marquis Wellesley saw the evil, and determined on providing a remedy. In a minute of great length and ability,* he adverted to the vast changes which had taken place since Great Britain first obtained a settlement in India, to the extent of the Company's dominions, the important duties devolving on their servants, and to the qualifications which they ought to possess. After dwelling upon these points in detail, he thus summed up his views:—"The civil servants of the English East-India Company, therefore, can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern. They are, in fact, the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign; they must now be viewed in that capacity, with reference not to their nominal but to their real occupations. They are required to discharge the functions of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and governors of provinces, in all the complicated and extensive relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations, and under peculiar circumstances, which greatly enhance the solemnity of every public obligation, and aggravate the difficulty of every public charge. Their duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world, with no other characteristic differences than the obstacles opposed by an unfavourable climate, by a foreign language,

* Recorded 10th July, 1800.

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by the peculiar usages and laws of India, and by the manners of its inhabitants. Their studies, the discipline of their education, their habits of life, their manners and morals, should therefore be so ordered and regulated as to establish a just conformity between their personal consideration and the dignity and importance of their public stations, and to maintain a sufficient correspondence between their qualifications and their duties. Their education should be founded in a general knowledge of those branches of literature and science which form the basis of the education of persons destined to similar occupations in Europe. To this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history, languages, customs, and manners of the people of India, with the Mahometan and Hindoo codes of law and religion, and with the political and commercial interests of Great Britain in Asia. They should be regularly instructed in the principles and system which constitute the foundation of that wise code of regulations and laws enacted by the governor-general in council, for the purpose of securing to the people of this empire the benefit of the ancient and accustomed laws of the country, administered in the spirit of the British constitution. They should be well informed of the true and sound principles of the British constitution, and sufficiently grounded in the general principles of ethics, civil jurisprudence, the law of nations, and general history, in order that they may be enabled to discriminate the charac-

teristic differences of the several codes of law administered within the British empire in India, and practically to combine the spirit of each in the dispensation of justice and in the maintenance of order and good government. Finally, their early habits should be so formed as to establish in their minds such solid foundations of industry, prudence, integrity, and religion, as should effectually guard them against those temptations and corruptions with which the nature of this climate and the peculiar depravity of the people of India will surround and assail them in every station, especially on their first arrival in India. The early discipline of the service should be calculated to counteract the defects of the climate and the vices of the people, and to form a natural barrier against habitual indolence, dissipation, and licentious indulgence; the spirit of emulation in honourable and useful pursuits should be kindled and kept alive, by the continual prospect of distinction and reward, of profit and honour; nor should any precaution be relaxed in India which is deemed necessary in England, to furnish a sufficient supply of men qualified to fill the high offices of the state with credit to themselves and with advantage to the public. Without such a constant succession of men in the several branches and departments of this government, the wisdom and benevolence of the law must prove vain and inefficient. Whatever course and system of study may be deemed requisite in England to secure an abundant and pure source for the efficient

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supply of the public service, the peculiar nature of our establishments in the East, so far from admitting any relaxation of those wise and salutary rules and restraints, demands that they should be enforced with a degree of additional vigilance and care, proportioned to the aggravated difficulties of civil service, and to the numerous hazards surrounding the entrance to public life in India."

Such were the views entertained by the Marquis Wellesley as to the importance of due preparation for the discharge of the important duties of the civil service of India. He proceeded to shew that the minds of the young men annually arriving at the presidencies in the capacity of writers had rarely undergone any adequate preparation—that from some, all instruction in liberal learning had been withheld, while in others, the course of study had been interrupted precisely at the period when it might have been pursued with increased advantage—that in India they had no opportunities of acquiring even the technical knowledge requisite to fit them for civil office—knowledge of the languages and customs of the natives; of the regulations and laws; or of the details of the established system of revenue—that the well-disposed and industrious were bewildered for want of a guide, while others, devoting themselves wholly to luxury and sensual enjoyment, remained sunk in indolence, until their standing in the service rendered them eligible to some office of trust, for which, however, they were incapable, from want of preparation, and from the

difficulty of suddenly breaking long-indulged habits of idleness and dissipation. There were not wanting, indeed, instances of application to study and habitual propriety of conduct; but all the merits of the civil servants, it was urged, were to be ascribed to themselves, while their defects were to be attributed to the constitution and practice of the service, which had not been accommodated to the progressive changes of our situation in India—had not kept pace with the growth of the empire, or with the increasing extent and importance of the functions and duties of the Company's servants. To remedy the existing evils, the governor-general proposed to establish a college in Calcutta, for the reception of writers for the three presidencies, who were there, for a limited period, to be subjected to the restraints of academic discipline, and trained in such studies as might fit them for their future duties. These were to be pursued under the superintendence of two clergymen, chaplains in the Company's service;* for the native languages moonshees were to be provided. The expense of the institution was to be provided for in a manner which should not in the first instance subject the Company to any additional charge; but the governor-general expressed a hope that the liberality of the Court of Directors would in due time be extended to it. It was established without previous reference home, and the

* Mr. Brown, the senior chaplain, and Mr. Buchanan, afterwards so well known by his meritorious exertions to direct attention to the ecclesiastical condition of India.

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following grounds were assigned for the omission: a conviction of the great immediate benefit to be derived from the early commencement even of the partial operation of the plan—the experience of the advantages which had already in some instances been derived from the systematic study of the native languages—the anxiety felt by the governor-general to impart to the young men arrived from Europe within the three preceding years a share of the anticipated benefits of the institution, and a solicitude, perfectly natural in its projector, to superintend the foundation of the college, and to accelerate and witness its first effects.

It will be judged, from the rapidity with which the design was carried into execution, that the establishment of the College of Fort William was a favourite object with the Marquis Wellesley. It was not so fortunate as to meet equal favour in Great Britain. The Court of Directors, prepared to look with suspicion on any proposal originating with the governor-general, feeling perhaps some displeasure, not altogether unwarranted, that the plan had been actually carried into effect without their concurrence, and anticipating a charge upon their finances of heavy and undefinable extent, withheld their approval of the magnificent establishment which had been devised, but voluntarily sanctioned the formation of an institution of more humble pretensions, at each of the presidencies, for instruction in the vernacular languages. The abolition of the college followed.

The plan thus frustrated by orders from home

demands some examination, on account both of the important objects which it was designed to promote, and the character of him to whom it owed its origin. That it is desirable that the civil servants of the East-India Company should be well-educated men, is a position from which few will be found to dissent. There are instances in which men, having few of the advantages of liberal education, have not only raised themselves to high station, but have shewn an eminent degree of fitness for the position which they have attained. But these instances, where native strength of mind has supplied the gifts which in ordinary cases are only to be acquired by study, cannot be admitted to afford an adequate foundation for the establishment of a general rule. There is reason to believe that, at the time the Marquis Wellesley recorded the minute from which his views on the subject have been quoted, the education of many of those destined to discharge in India the duties of statesmen, legislators, judges, and financiers, was extremely defective. The original commercial character of the East-India Company had led to the belief that the measure of education which fits a youth for the counting-house—perhaps something less than the ordinary measure—was enough to qualify him for the civil service of India. During the latter half of the last century, the prevailing feeling on the subject of education was narrow and illiberal. At an earlier period, whoever received any education at all was instructed in the elements at least of classical knowledge. The extension of the commercial interest of

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Great Britain had led to a different course. Education was more widely diffused, but it was essentially altered in its character. Those branches of knowledge which could be rendered immediately available to the acquisition of wealth came to be regarded as the only objects worthy of attention; and the graceful and liberal studies which had formerly been cultivated, to the exclusion of all others, were in their turn excluded, because they could not readily be made instrumental to raising a fortune. Independently, therefore, of the deliberate opinion left on record by the Marquis Wellesley, there is good ground for believing that, in many cases, the civil servants of the East-India Company at that period had devoted little attention to those studies which tend to refine, liberalize, and elevate the mind. The governor-general, himself an accurate and elegant scholar, could not fail to be struck with the deficiency, and to lament its consequences.*

With regard to the Oriental tongues, the deficiency, though scarcely more lamentable, was certainly more calculated to excite surprise. Men called upon to perform duties of the highest importance in a country in which they were strangers—duties involving the rights and interests of millions—men

* With the Marquis Wellesley, the studies of his youth have become the delight and consolation of his age. Resuming at a very advanced period of life the elegant amusement which classical composition affords, he has shewn that years have abated neither his love for liberal learning nor his power of displaying it.

incurring this responsibility, and surrounded by almost every species of perverse influence which could debase or deceive, were not even required to submit to any prescribed course of study, for the purpose of acquiring an ordinary measure of skill in the tongues spoken by almost all around them. But for the extraordinary manner in which the Indian empire of Great Britain had grown up—but for the extraordinary apathy which prevailed at home on all subjects connected with India, except when periodical fits of pity for the wrongs of India seized the nation, and invariably directed its attention far from all useful and substantial modes of improvement, such a state of things could never have existed. It was certainly not creditable that it should have continued so long, and much honour does it reflect on the Marquis Wellesley, that if he were not the first to perceive the evil, he was certainly the first to suggest a remedy.

Again, nothing could be more pitiable than the moral destitution in which the youths sent to India were left, at that dangerous period when the boy is rapidly growing into the man. In some cases they might have friends residing at the place of their destination, whose care might counteract the temptations to which youth everywhere, but nowhere so much as in India, are exposed; but unless where a near degree of relationship existed, the connection would have little of authority, and instances must have been numerous, where a young writer was thrown upon the

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shores of India without having a claim upon any British inhabitant, beyond the common claim of country, for advice or attention.

It may be granted, therefore, that there were abundant grounds for some measures which should raise the standard of general learning among the civil servants of India, make adequate provision for the cultivation of the eastern languages, afford some protection to the inexperienced, and some restraint upon the levity of those whose imprudence, while it could not fail to be injurious to themselves, would, in all probability, be detrimental to the interests and happiness of a large circle—of those among whom they were to hold office.

It remains to inquire whether the establishment of the College of Fort William was the best mode by which the existing evils could be averted; and, in treating of this, it will be convenient to reverse the order in which those evils have been noticed.

How far such an institution was likely to be useful for the purposes of moral training, is a question which it is not easy to answer. There may be circumstances in which the watchfulness of friends may supply a far better mode than can be furnished by even the best conducted collegiate establishment; but if provision is to be made for numbers, it can only be made on principles that can be applied to all. On this part of the plan the governor-general expressed himself with great earnestness and confidence. "This institution," said he, "will be best appreciated by every affectionate

parent in the hour of separation from his child destined for the public service in India. Let any parent (especially if he has himself passed through the Company's service in India) declare whether the prospect of this institution has aggravated or mitigated the solicitude of that painful hour,—whether it has caused additional doubts and fears, or inspired a more lively hope of the honourable and prosperous service—of the early and fortunate return of his child?"* Still the lessons of experience cannot be forgotten. The prevailing state of morals, wherever young men are congregated in large numbers, is not such as to afford much encouragement to an extension of the system. All that can be urged is, that even partial and imperfect restraint is better than total abandonment.

The study of the native languages, it may be presumed, can be more efficiently pursued in India than at home. A degree of acquaintance with their grammatical principles may be a useful preparation; but all experience shews that living languages are more readily, as well as more perfectly, acquired among the people with whom they are vernacular, than under any other circumstances. It would not be difficult to assign reasons for it, but it is unnecessary, since all that is requisite is an appeal to fact.

On the remaining point, the balance of advantage seems against the College of Fort William. For the attainment of general learning India possesses

* Minute above quoted.

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no peculiar facilities; and to take youths there to teach them that which they might more conveniently learn at home, is a plan sanctioned neither by principle nor experience. In the public and private seminaries of England the teachers of the learned languages and the liberal sciences are numerous and efficient enough to remove the necessity for providing for the servants of the East-India Company any means of pursuing the usual objects of youthful study which are not open to the rest of their countrymen. All that can be secured by a college for their especial benefit might be secured quite as effectually, and far more cheaply, as well as more conveniently, by other modes. If candidates for civil office in India can pass a sufficient test of scholarship, it matters not where they acquired the qualification; but it is certain that India is not the most likely place to acquire it either effectually or rapidly. This objection was foreseen by the governor-general; it is, indeed, so obvious, that it was impossible that his sagacity could overlook it. "It may be contended," said he, "that many of the enumerated evils may be precluded, by not allowing the writers to proceed to India until they shall have reached a more advanced age than that at which they now usually embark; and by requiring them to undergo examinations in England, for the purpose of ascertaining their proficiency in the branches of knowledge necessary to the discharge of their duties in India." He combats this by a variety of reasons, stated with great force and ingenuity. Among

these, the objections of parents stand prominently forward. It was to be apprehended, indeed, that many would object to the expense of bestowing on their sons an education superior to that which had formerly been required; and though this does not appear, the governor-general might probably entertain no small portion of fear, that if his plan were not carried into effect, its place would not be supplied by any other; that no examination in England would supersede the necessity for a college in India; and that the evils of the existing system would be continued without diminution. The fear of being disappointed in his favourite object of improving the character of the civil service probably operated to prompt the establishment of the college, without waiting for authority from home. All the motives assigned by the governor-general undoubtedly operated upon his mind; but it is difficult to suppose that he did not entertain some degree of despair as to the effect of mere representations of the necessity of taking some steps in a matter upon which he felt deeply; and he may be presumed to have cherished a hope that when the college was established, and actually in the course of realizing some of the benefits expected from it, no attempt would be made to disturb its operation.

The extent of knowledge to which the governor-general refers, as requisite to the due performance of the duties of a civil servant, is very wide and comprehensive. It could scarcely be mastered at an age even considerably exceeding that at which

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writers were ordinarily sent out, and some of its divisions, ethics and jurisprudence, are justly declared by him to be suited only to the ripened intellects of maturer years. In what manner the cultivation of such studies can best be promoted and advanced among the members of the civil service, it is difficult to determine; but it is certain that they are not the proper studies of boyhood, and that the mind can neither be strengthened nor informed by urging upon it exercises disproportioned to its state of development.

The suppression of the college added one further mortification to those which the governor-general had already experienced; but his design to return home at the expiration of a year from the time when he announced it was not carried into effect. The Court of Directors requested him to prolong his stay for another year, acknowledging that, though they had differed from him in some material points, it was impossible not to be impressed by the zeal and ability which he had displayed in the general management of their affairs, and intimating a conviction that the interests of the Company would be essentially promoted by his yielding to their request. Whether or not he would have complied, had India remained at peace, cannot be known; but a state of affairs had arisen which deprived him of the opportunity of returning with honour. He consequently remained to enter upon a new course of arduous and important service, which must now be followed.

The governor-general had been desirous of drawing more closely the connection between the British government and the Peishwa. He had invited that prince to co-operate in the war against Tippoo Sultan, and though the appeal was disregarded, he had proposed to bestow on the Peishwa a portion of the territory which the British arms had conquered. He had been anxious to conclude a subsidiary treaty with the head of the Mahratta confederacy, but the measure, though unremittingly pursued for a long period, had failed. Throughout these negotiations the Peishwa did not discredit the established character of his countrymen for proficiency in all the arts of evasive and dishonest policy. While seeking to amuse the British agents by a series of illusory representations, he was employed in endeavouring to detach the Nizam from his British ally, and to engage him in a confederacy against that power to which he was indebted for protection. At length, late in the year 1801, the Peishwa, being surrounded with difficulties from which he knew not how to extricate himself, signified his willingness to subsidize six battalions of British troops, on the condition that they should not be stationed within his own dominions, but be prepared at all times to act on his requisition, and for the payment he proposed to assign territory in Hindostan. The proposal required and received mature consideration. The Peishwa was obviously and not unnaturally anxious to surrender as small a portion of power as possible. He was aware that the permanent establishment of

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a British force at Poona would be fatal to his independence—he therefore sought to keep it at a distance, except in cases of emergency. In the opinion of the governor-general, he probably calculated that the knowledge of his ability to command so powerful a body of troops as that which he proposed to subsidize would be sufficient to support his authority and overawe those who might be disposed to subvert it. As to the portion of the territory to be assigned for the payment of the required force, it was simply stated to be in Hindostan. From this intimation it was inferred that it was to be north of the Nerbudda. There, however, the Peishwa possessed only a nominal authority, and the assignment of territory, under such circumstances, was very different to transferring its possession. It was suspected, also, that the territory might be selected with a view to the reduction of the power of Scindia or of Holkar, or of relieving the Peishwa from the control exercised over him by the former chief, which he had long felt a sore burden, and that the mode by which this object was to be effected was by involving Scindia in a contest with the British government. There were some other proposed conditions of inferior importance, to which it is not necessary to advert. The governor-general, on a review of the relative positions of the Peishwa, his nominal dependents, and the British government, deemed the proposal inadmissible without considerable modification; but there were indications in the political horizon which disposed him to acquiesce in the re-

quired limitation as to the portion of the subsidiary force, provided a less objectionable arrangement for the discharge of the subsidy could be effected. In July, 1802, the British resident at Poona was instructed to intimate that he was prepared to make a communication on the subject of the Peishwa's proposal. The Peishwa received the intimation with great indifference, and manifested a remarkable absence of curiosity as to the governor-general's determination. At last the affair was opened and the proposed arrangement discussed, but with little apparent probability of an early conclusion. The approach of Holkar, who was in arms against Scindia and his nominal head, the Peishwa, brought the negotiation to a crisis. On the 23rd of October Holkar encamped within a short distance of Poona. On the 25th an action took place between his army and the combined force of the Peishwa and Scindia. The Peishwa, to be prepared for the event, whatever it might be, moved out of the city attended by the standard of the empire, and at the same time dispatched his minister to the British resident with an instrument under the prince's seal, declaring his consent to subsidize the proposed number of troops, and engaging, for their subsistence, to cede to the Company territory in Guzerat or in the southern quarters of his dominions, yielding an annual revenue of twenty-six lacs. The minister, at the time of presenting this instrument, gave the British resident the fullest assurance that it was the Peishwa's intention and meaning, that a general de-

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fensive alliance should be concluded between himself and the Company, on the basis of the treaty of Hyderabad. The resident deemed it expedient, under the circumstances, immediately to suggest to the governments of Madras and Bombay the necessity of preparing a body of troops at each presidency, for the eventual support of the Peishwa's government. He made a similar application to the resident at Hyderabad, with a view to the service of a considerable detachment from the subsidiary force stationed there. These preparations were not needless. The battle, which had commenced at half-past nine in the morning, ended about mid-day, when victory rested with Holkar, a result to be attributed in a great degree to his own desperate efforts. The Peishwa fled with a body of cavalry to the fort of Singurh. The Company's resident, Colonel Close, remained at Poona, and the British flag, which waved conspicuously at his quarters, commanded the respect of all parties.

The engagement of the Peishwa had been transmitted without delay to the governor-general, who ratified it on the day of its arrival. Orders were at the same time issued to the governments of Madras and Bombay, and to the resident at Hyderabad, confirming the requisitions of Colonel Close for the assemblage of troops. The Peishwa, quitting Raigurh, proceeded to Mhar, whence he dispatched letters to the Bombay government, requesting that ships might be sent to convey him and his followers to that presidency. Alarmed by the advance of

some of Holkar's troops, he soon after fled to Se-verndroog, where he resided for some time under protection of the fort. A British ship finally conveyed him to Bassein, where he arrived on the 16th of December, attended by a small escort of about a hundred and thirty followers.

The British resident remained at Poona for some time after the departure of the Peishwa, and had several conferences of an apparently friendly character with Holkar. The object of that chief was to obtain possession of the person of the Peishwa, and use the name and authority of the prince, as Scindia had previously done, for his own purposes. To this end he was desirous of having the support of the British government, and he invited the resident to undertake the task of effecting an accommodation for him with the Peishwa. Colonel Close referred him to the governor-general; and with some difficulty obtained permission to depart. He arrived at Bombay on the 3rd of December. On the 6th he received a communication from the governor-general, approving of the arrangements into which he had entered. On the arrival of the Peishwa at Bassein Colonel Close waited on the prince, and the necessary steps were commenced for the conclusion of a definitive treaty. Some difference existed as to the territories to be assigned for the pay of the subsidiary force, but it was terminated by the Peishwa suddenly and unexpectedly signifying his assent to the surrender of those on which the British resident had insisted. On the last day of the

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year 1802 the treaty was signed and sealed; and the counterpart, duly ratified by the governor-general, was shortly afterwards transmitted to the Peishwa.

This document was of great length, comprising no fewer than nineteen articles. It declared the friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties, friends and enemies of both, and confirmed all former treaties and agreements between the two states not contrary to the tenor of the new one. It provided for the joint exertions of both, to defend the rights or redress the wrongs of either, or of their respective dependents or allies; and this provision was followed by an explanatory addition, declaring that the British government would never permit any power or state whatever to commit with impunity any act of unprovoked hostility or aggression against the rights and territories of the Peishwa, but would at all times maintain and defend them, in the same manner as the rights and territories of the Company. The subsidiary force was to consist of six thousand regular native infantry, with the usual proportion of field-pieces and European artillerymen attached, and the proper equipment of warlike stores and ammunition, and it was to be permanently stationed within the Peishwa's dominions. This last point was an important departure from the plan proposed by the Peishwa, and to which the governor-general was prepared, if necessary, to consent: but the concession was not extorted by the force of circumstances; it had been yielded by the Peishwa at

Poona, and before his fortune had taken the unfavourable turn which led to his flight. A succeeding article provided for the cession of territory, described in a schedule attached to the treaty for the payment of the subsidiary force; and another provided for exchange of territory, should it at a future period appear desirable. The total annual expense of the force was estimated at twenty-five lacs—the estimated value of the lands ceded was twenty-six lacs, the additional lac being intended to meet possible deficiencies—an arrangement, the expediency of which will be denied by none who have had opportunity of observing the wide difference which, in matters of Indian revenue, ordinarily exists between estimates and realizations. By the next article, designed to avert a collision of authorities and claims, it was stipulated that orders should be given for admitting the Company's officers to the charge of the ceded districts as soon as it should be signified that they were prepared to take it; that all collections made by the Peishwa's officers between the date of the treaty and the period of the Company's taking possession should be carried to the credit of the latter; and all claims to balance on account of antecedent periods be considered void. All forts within the ceded districts were to be given up without injury or damage, and with their equipment of ordnance stores and provisions. Grain, and all articles of consumption, and provisions, and all sorts of materials for wearing apparel, together with the necessary numbers of cattle, horses, and

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camels, required for the subsidiary force, were to be entirely exempted from duties—the commanding officer and the officers of the force were to be treated “in all respects in a manner suited to the dignity and greatness of both states.” The force was to be at all times ready to execute services of importance, such as the protection of the Peishwa’s person, the overawing and chastisement of rebels, or suppression of disturbances in his dominions, and due correction of his subjects and dependents who might withhold payment of the just claims of the state; but it was not to be employed on trifling occasions, nor in a variety of ways which were enumerated. The negotiation of this treaty afforded opportunity for relieving Surat from certain Mahratta claims, which had been a source of much vexation and dispute, and it was not neglected. These claims were to be abandoned on consideration of the surrender, on the part of the Company, of land, the revenue of which should be equal to the annual estimated value of the Mahratta tribute. Some similar claims in other places were to be extinguished in the same manner. The article with regard to the employment of Europeans by the Peishwa was far less stringent than that inserted in other engagements of like character between the British government and its allies. In place of stipulating for the entire exclusion of Europeans and Americans from the service of the Peishwa, the treaty, after reciting that it had been usual for that prince to enlist and retain in his service Europeans of dif-

ferent countries, provided that, in the event of war breaking out between the English and any European nation, and of discovery being made that any Europeans in the Peishwa's service belonging to such nation at war with the English should have meditated injury towards their government, or have entered into intrigues hostile to their interests, such persons were to be discharged, and not suffered to reside within the Peishwa's dominions. The following article restrained the Peishwa from committing any act of aggression against the Company's allies or dependents, or against any of the principal branches of the Mahratta empire, or against any power whatever; and bound him to abide by the Company's award, should differences arise. Two other articles, which referred to existing disputes with various parties (the Mahrattas were never without a standing array of disputes with every Indian power), gave to the Company the right of arbitration, and pledged the Peishwa to obedience. In the event of war, the Peishwa engaged, in addition to four battalions of the subsidiary force, to aid the Company immediately with six thousand infantry and ten thousand horse from his own troops, and, with as little delay as possible, to bring into the field the whole force which he might be able to supply from his dominions. The Company, on the other hand, engaged to employ against the common enemy the largest force which they might be able to furnish, over and above the number of the subsidiary troops. When war might appear probable,

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the Peishwa was to provide stores and other aids in his frontier garrisons. He was neither to commence nor pursue negotiation with any power whatever without giving notice and entering into consultation with the Company's government. While his external relations were thus restrained, the rights preserved to him in his own dominions were most ample. The Company disclaimed all concern with the Peishwa's children, relations, subjects, or servants, with respect to whom his highness was declared to be absolute. The subsidiary force were to be employed, if necessary, in suppressing disturbances in the ceded districts; and if disturbances should arise in the Peishwa's territories, the British government, on his requisition, were to direct such of the Company's troops as should be most conveniently stationed for the purpose to assist in quelling them. The concluding article, in Oriental fashion, declared that the treaty should last as long as the sun and the moon should endure.

The conclusion of this treaty is to be regarded as an important step in the extension of the salutary influence of the British government in India. The formation of such an engagement had long been anxiously desired; but the hope of success, repeatedly entertained, had been so often defeated that it grew faint. The internal disputes of the Mahratta confederacy at last afforded an opportunity, which was improved both by the governor-general and the resident at Poona with admirable tact and promptness. If the terms were not such as were in all respects

to be desired, they were the best that could be obtained. To have deferred the conclusion of the treaty, in the hope of improving them, might have been to lose the only opportunity which had ever offered for negotiating with a chance of success. The Peishwa, indeed, was powerless in himself; but he was not compelled to choose the British government for his champion. He might have thrown himself into the arms of either Scindia or Holkar. He would then, it is true, have enjoyed but the mere shadow of authority; but he might have preferred that the substance should be possessed by a Mahratta, rather than an European power. It was certainly dangerous to risk this. Most important was it, not only that the Peishwa should become attached to the British government by the bond of a subsidiary alliance, but that this should be effected without delay. The Peishwa, too, had expressed a desire to place himself altogether in the power of the English, by taking refuge at Bombay. His application had not been complied with; but it was an expression of confidence in the character of the British government which called for a suitable return. He had pledged himself, before departing from Poona, to receive a subsidiary force, and to make a cession of territory to defray the expense. These important points being secured, the British government, in refraining to take advantage of the fallen fortunes of the prince, pursued a policy at once wise and generous.

In conformity with the suggestions of Colonel

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Close, confirmed by the governor-general, the whole of the subsidiary force stationed in the territories of the Nizam, amounting to something more than eight thousand three hundred men, marched from Hyderabad at the close of the month of February, and on the 25th of March reached the town of Paraindah, situate on the western frontier of the Nizam's dominions, about a hundred and sixteen miles from Poona. The subsidiary force was accompanied by six thousand of the Nizam's disciplined infantry, and about nine thousand cavalry. At Madras Lord Clive prepared for carrying out the views of the governor-general. On the 27th of February he instructed General Stuart, then present with the army on the frontier of Mysore, to adopt the necessary measures for the march of the British troops into the Mahratta territory, leaving it to the judgment of the general to determine the amount of force necessary to be detached for the purpose. The choice of a commander Lord Clive did not delegate to another. He selected for the command Major General Wellesley, who, in addition to his military claims, had acquired in Mysore much local knowledge that could not fail to be eminently useful, and by his campaign against Dhoondia Waugh, had established among the Mahratta chieftains a high degree of reputation and influence. The detachment made by General Stuart consisted of one regiment of European and three regiments of native cavalry, two regiments of European and six battalions of native infantry, with a due proportion of

artillery. It amounted to nearly ten thousand men, and to this force was added two thousand five hundred of the Rajah of Mysore's horse. It is impossible to advert to this without referring to one advantage of the conquest of Seringapatam, and the subsequent treaty which the movement of the troops under General Wellesley brings to notice. For the first time in the wars of Great Britain with the native states were the power and resources of Mysore brought to the assistance of the Company's government. Hitherto that state had been a source of unceasing danger and alarm. The policy of the Marquis Wellesley had converted it into a valuable accession of strength.

General Wellesley commenced his march from Hurryhur, on the frontier of Mysore, on the 9th of March, and crossed the Toombuddra river on the 12th. The march of the British troops through the southern division of the Peishwa's territories had the effect of restoring a degree of peace which the country rarely experienced. The chieftains and jagheerdars, whose petty differences had previously kept the districts oppressed by them in a state of constant warfare and outrage, suspended their contests for a time, awed by the presence of a commander whose name imposed terror on all disturbers of the peace. Most of them joined the British army in support of the cause of the Peishwa. Among the number were several who had incurred that prince's displeasure, and who hoped that the influence of the British government, exercised in acknowledgment of their

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services, might be sufficient to restore them to favour. On the 15th of April General Wellesley effected a junction with the force from Hyderabad. As he proceeded, the advanced detachments of Holkar retreated before him, and on his approach to Poona the chieftain himself retired from that place to Chandoor, a town about a hundred and thirty miles distant, leaving at Poona a garrison of fifteen hundred men. Under these circumstances, it was not deemed necessary to advance to Poona all the troops at his disposal, and as the country was much exhausted and a great deficiency of forage prevailed, it was not advisable. General Wellesley, therefore, determined so to distribute his troops that the whole might procure forage and subsistence, but at the same time to reserve the power of readily forming a junction, should such a step be desirable. Colonel Stevenson, with the Hyderabad force, was ordered to march to Gardoor, to leave near that place, and within the Nizam's dominions, all that prince's troops, and to place himself, with the British subsidiary force, in a position on the Beemah river, towards Poona, near its junction with the Mota Mola river.

General Wellesley continued his own march towards Poona by the road of Baramooty. He had received repeated intimations that it was intended to plunder and burn the city on the approach of the British troops. As this would have been an exploit perfectly in accordance with the Mahratta character, the prevalent belief was by no means improbable.

The Peishwa, alarmed for the safety of his capital and his family, urgently solicited that some of his own troops might be dispatched for their protection; but the British commander knew too well the character of those troops to act upon the suggestion. On the 18th of April, it was ascertained that the Peishwa's family had been removed to the fortress of Saoghur, a measure supposed to be preparatory to the destruction of the city. When this intelligence was received, General Wellesley was advancing to the relief of Poona with the British cavalry. At night, on the 19th of April, he commenced a march of forty miles, over a very rugged country and through a difficult pass. The next day saw him at the head of his cavalry before Poona, the whole distance travelled in the preceding thirty-two hours being sixty miles. The commander of Holkar's force in Poona, on hearing of General Wellesley's approach, precipitately quitted the place with his garrison, leaving to the English the easy duty of taking possession. A great part of the inhabitants had quitted their homes and fled to the hills during the occupation of Holkar. The few that remained manifested great pleasure at the arrival of the English troops, and those who had fled gave evidence of the confidence to which the change gave birth by returning to their homes and resuming the exercise of their usual occupations. While General Wellesley was on his march, preparations had been making at Bombay for the return of the Peishwa to his capital. From the time when

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he took up his residence at Bassein, he had, at his own request, been attended by a British guard. This force was now considerably augmented, and, being placed under the command of Colonel Murray, formed the prince's escort on his march back to the capital, whence he had so recently made an ignominious flight. On the 27th of April he left Bassein, attended by the British resident, Colonel Close; on the 13th of May he took his seat on the musnud in his palace at Poona, amidst the roar of cannon from the British camp, echoed from all the posts and forts in the vicinity.

The accession of the principal Mahratta states to the great confederation, of which the British government in India was the head, had been an object which the governor-general had long and strenuously laboured to effect. His efforts, so long and so often frustrated, had at length succeeded with regard to the chief authority in the Mahratta confederacy, and the Peishwa was now the subsidiary ally of the English. To conciliate Scindia, the resources of diplomacy had been tried, almost as perseveringly as they had been used to win the Peishwa, but with no better success than had attended their exercise with the latter chief, before the impending loss of every vestige of power led him to seek, in a British alliance, the means of deliverance from the ambitious dependents who were anxious to take charge of his person and authority. Scindia had met the overtures of the British resident civilly, but evasively. The turn which affairs had taken seemed to warrant the hope of a

different issue—a hope corroborated by a letter which Scindia addressed to the governor-general, after the flight of the Peishwa from his capital. In this communication Scindia announced his march from Oujein towards the Deccan, for the declared purpose of restoring order and tranquillity in that quarter, and expressed a desire that, in consideration of the friendship subsisting between the British government and the Peishwa, and of the relation in which Scindia stood to both, as guarantee to the treaty of Salbye, the former would, in “concert and concurrence with him, render the corroboration of the foundations of attachment and union, and the maintenance of the obligations of friendship and regard, with respect to his highness the Peishwa, as heretofore, and conformably to existing engagements, the objects of its attention.” This was sufficiently vague; but it was not more vague than the generality of Mahratta communications. If it could be regarded as bearing any meaning, it was to be understood as a call upon the British government to aid in the restoration of the Peishwa to the musnud at Poona.

A few days after the conclusion of the treaty of Bassein, Colonel Close addressed a letter to Scindia, announcing that engagements of a defensive nature had been formed between the British government and the Peishwa; and that, agreeably to the tenor of those engagements, a British force would be stationed within the Peishwa’s dominions. In making this communication, Colonel Close expressed his hope that Scindia would co-operate with the British

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government in endeavouring to arrange the affairs of the Peishwa, and restore the prince to the exercise of his authority at Poona. The answer of Scindia was satisfactory, as far as any Mahratta answer could be satisfactory. It was in the following terms:—"I have been favoured with your acceptable letter, intimating that, as the relations of friendship had long subsisted between the Peishwa Saib Bahaudur and the English Company Bahaudur, engagements of a defensive kind were concluded between the two states; and that accordingly, with a view to the occurrences that had taken place at Poona, the Nabob Governor-General Bahaudur had determined to forward a British force to that quarter, to the end that, with my concurrence and co-operation, the refractory may be brought to punishment. My friend, in truth, the ancient relations of friendship and union which hold between the different circars required such a design and such a co-operation. My army, which has also marched from Oujein towards the Deccan, with a view to lay the dust of commotion and chastise the disrespectful, crossed the Nerbudda, under happy auspices, on the 8th of February, and will shortly reach Boorhampore. My friend Colonel Collins, who, agreeably to the orders of his excellency the most noble the governor-general, has left Furruckabad for this quarter, may be expected to join me in a few days. Inasmuch as the concerns of the different circars are one, and admit of no distinction, on the arrival of my forces at Boorhampore, I shall without reserve make you acquainted with

the measures which shall be resolved on for the arrangement and adjustment of affairs." The letter concluded with some expressions of piety, very edifying from a Mahratta, but not necessary to be quoted.

The mission of Colonel Collins, referred to in the above letter, had its origin in instructions forwarded by the governor-general to that officer soon after the Peishwa had consented to enter into a subsidiary alliance with the Company. Colonel Collins accordingly proceeded to the camp of Scindia at Boorhampore. On his way he received a letter from Colonel Close, apprizing him of the conclusion of the treaty of Bassein, and of the fact that Scindia had been informed of it. The first communication made by Colonel Collins after his arrival in Scindia's camp, therefore, announced the British officer's knowledge of these events, and his authority to enter into engagements with Scindia similar to those which had been concluded with the Peishwa. Scindia, in reply, referred the discussion of the important points of this communication to personal conference; but the opportunity for thus discussing them was long in arriving. At length a meeting took place, when the British resident stated the objects of his mission to be threefold: to concert with Scindia the most effectual means of restoring and securing tranquillity in the Deccan; to offer to that chief the mediation of the British government for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between him and Holkar; and to make to him a tender

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of admission to the general defensive alliance on terms similar to those which had been accepted by the Peishwa. It was answered, on the part of Scindia, that the important nature of these proposals called for mature deliberation, and that time was necessary for the purpose. The conference here terminated. Five days afterwards, one of Scindia's ministers attended the resident to convey to him the results of the consideration which had been bestowed on his proposals. To the first it was answered, with true Mahratta ambiguity, that for the British government to concert with Scindia the most effectual means of restoring and securing tranquillity in the Deccan was conformable to the relations of friendship subsisting between the two states—to the second, "that the affairs of the families of Scindia and Holkar had been one and the same from father to son; that heretofore differences had arisen between them, but that these differences had always been adjusted by themselves." To the third of Colonel Collins's proposals the answer was, that Scindia, being guarantee to the treaty of Salbye, had been surprised at the conclusion of the defensive alliance between the Peishwa and the British government without his knowledge; that, after a personal conference with the Peishwa, he should be apprized of the real state of circumstances, and should then act in such a manner as might be suitable and proper. It will be unnecessary to waste time on the answers to the first and second of Colonel Collins's suggestions; they are mere ordi-

nary specimens of the eastern art of putting together words for the ear alone, not for the understanding. The third may justify some examination. Although Scindia now declared that he had been surprised at the conclusion of the defensive alliance between the British government and the Peishwa without his knowledge, it is to be remembered that he had expressed no surprise when, some time before, the same fact had been communicated to him by Colonel Close. Adverting, in his answer to this arrangement, to the consequent movement of a British force, and to the request for his co-operation, he had said that "the ancient relations of friendship and union which hold between the different circars required such a design and such a co-operation."* This language does not necessarily imply his approval of the treaty. It is, according to Mahratta custom, adapted to receive almost any interpretation which it might be convenient to put upon it; but if it expresses no approbation, it certainly indicates no surprise; and if Scindia were sincere in his subsequent avowal of this feeling, it must be concluded that while, in all other persons, surprise is the instantaneous result of some unexpected discovery, in the Mahratta chief it required a considerable space of time to mature and bring it forth. His complaint, that a treaty to which he was guarantee had been set aside without his knowledge, was as frivolous as his affectation of surprise was unwarranted. Scindia had no interest in the treaty—at least he had ostensibly no interest

* See page 292.

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in it. His office of guarantee, so long as it continued, bound him to enforce its observance upon both the parties for whose benefit the engagement was contracted; but it certainly gave him no authority to prevent their making any additional engagements, or even abrogating the original treaty by mutual consent. The only effect of such measures with regard to him would be to release him from the obligation of enforcing, in his capacity of guarantee, the stipulations of the treaty which had been modified or annulled. To discuss the nature of the relation subsisting between the Peishwa and those chiefs who acknowledged him as their head would be idle, because no satisfactory conclusion could be attained; but if any point connected with it be clear, it is the right of the Peishwa to bind himself by treaty without consulting the inferior chiefs. Scindia was not a party to the treaty of Salbye, and he had no claim to be a party to any new treaty. If, however, he were anxious to form an alliance with the British government, the opportunity was afforded him. He, indeed, thought that the new treaty was injurious to his interest, and so it was, by taking the Peishwa out of his power. But the power which he had exercised was an usurpation unsanctioned by the avowed principles of the Mahratta confederacy. All indeed within that confederacy was usurpation; but the whole question may be reduced to very simple elements: if the theory of the Mahratta association were to be upheld, Scindia was a dependent of the Peishwa, and

his attempts to establish his own authority on the ruin of that of his superior were little if at all short of treason ; if the theory were to be discarded, and Scindia to be viewed as an independent prince, seeking to advance his own ends by subjugating another to his will, the right of the latter to seek the means of escape, and the right of a neighbouring state to afford those means, are indisputably clear. The course of events was unfavourable to the views of Scindia, but he had not the slightest ground for reasonable complaint. His intimation of the necessity of a personal conference with the Peishwa implied either a doubt of the truth of the representations made by the agents of the British government, or an intention to obstruct the progress of the new arrangements. To indicate such a doubt was offensive to the British government—to entertain such an intention was the preliminary to a state of hostility. Some of these points were pressed on the notice of Scindia and his ministers by Colonel Collins, and he succeeded, after a time, in drawing from the chief a declaration unexampled perhaps in the annals of Mahratta diplomacy for explicitness. Scindia now stated that he could not give a decided answer to the proposals of the British government till after a conference which he proposed to hold, not with the Peishwa himself, but with an agent of that prince, whose arrival he expected ; but he added, that he had no intention whatever to obstruct the completion of the arrangements lately concluded between the Peishwa and the British government ; that,

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on the contrary, it was his wish to improve the friendship at present subsisting between the Peishwa, the British government, and his own state. Notwithstanding these favourable feelings, Scindia manifested a strong dislike to the march of the British troops to Poona, and he requested that orders might be issued to stop them. He preferred that the city should remain in possession of Holkar rather than be delivered by the interposition of a British force. At the period when this reasonable request was made, no orders could have been issued in time to prevent the march of General Wellesley to Poona—it is needless to add that, even had time permitted, no such orders would have been issued.

In addition to the inferences to be drawn from the conduct of Scindia and his ministers, other grounds for suspecting their intentions existed. On the day on which Colonel Collins joined the chieftain's camp, he received intelligence that a confederacy between Scindia and other Mahratta chiefs, for purposes hostile to the British interests, was in course of arrangement. Scindia's prime minister had been deputed on a mission to the Rajah of Berar. Another confidential servant was dispatched to the Peishwa, to remonstrate, as it was believed, against the treaty of Bassein, and vakeels from Holkar arrived in Scindia's camp for the purpose of effecting an adjustment of their differences. The deportment of Scindia's ministers towards the British resident became intemperate and offensive,

and early in May that chief marched from the vicinity of Boorhampore to meet the Rajah of Berar, who had taken the field with a large army. He, however, expressed a wish that the British resident should follow him, with which Colonel Collins complied.

The governor-general had doubted the existence of the alleged confederacy against the British government, and the grounds of doubt were not unreasonable. That Scindia and the Rajah of Berar should be disposed to reduce the Peishwa to a state of subserviency to their views might readily be believed; but that they should venture, in carrying out such a plan, to provoke the hostility of the British government was scarcely credible. Happily, the governor-general did not suffer his doubts to overcome his caution. He was struck by comparing the apathy of Scindia, while Holkar was in undisturbed possession of the Peishwa's capital, with his renewed activity when that capital was about to be rescued by a British force. He wisely, therefore, deemed it necessary to instruct Colonel Collins to remonstrate with Scindia, and to require from him unequivocal evidence of friendly intentions; it being pointed out that the only satisfactory evidence would be his retirement to his dominions north of the Nerbudda. Scindia was further required to disavow the imputation of being engaged in a confederacy with Holkar and the Rajah of Berar against the English. A remonstrance was also addressed to the Rajah of Berar, which was followed by a second

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communication of like character, on the governor-general receiving intelligence that the Rajah had put his army in motion for the purpose of meeting Scindia.

Colonel Collins, on receiving his instructions, proceeded without delay to act upon them. Having explained at length the treaty of Bassein, he demanded whether it contained any thing at variance with Scindia's rights. One of the ministers answered that it did not, and Scindia himself confirmed the acknowledgment. Colonel Collins then claimed to be informed of the nature and objects of the recent negotiations among the Mahratta chiefs. He was answered that Scindia had no intention to invade the dominions of either the Nizam or the Peishwa; but, on the resident urging the necessity of a disavowal on the part of Scindia of any intention to disturb the treaty of Bassein, it was answered that Scindia could afford no satisfaction on that point until he had conferred with the Rajah of Berar. The resident continued to press the points suggested by his instructions, representing that the refusal of Scindia to afford satisfactory explanation, combined with the unremitted prosecution of his military arrangements, would compel the British government to adopt precautionary measures upon every part of Scindia's frontier, and that the confirmation of the report of his accession to a confederacy against the British power would lead to the immediate commencement of active hostilities. The chief, to whom the representation was addressed,

remained unmoved by it. He adhered to the silence which he had resolved to maintain as to his future intentions, and terminated the conference with this remarkable declaration :—" After my interview with the Rajah of Berar, you shall know whether it will be peace or war." Suspense was thus converted into certainty. Scindia was prepared to embark in a war with the British government if the Rajah of Berar would join him. On the decision of that prince it rested whether it should be " peace or war." Scindia had acknowledged that he had no just grounds of exception to the treaty of Bassein, but that treaty was, notwithstanding, to be the cause of involving the Mahratta countries in all the calamities of war if the Rajah of Berar should stand firm. The insult offered to the British state by Scindia's declaration, that state might perhaps have afforded to despise when coming from a chief of freebooters ; but the positive danger indicated could not be disregarded, and the governor-general proceeded with promptitude and vigour to prepare for the crisis which was obviously approaching. Before, however, adverting to the measures resorted to for the purpose, it will be convenient to follow the proceedings at the camps of Scindia and the Rajah of Berar so long as negotiation was maintained with them by the English authorities. On the 4th of June the meditated meeting between those two chiefs took place at Mulkapore, on the frontier of the Nizam's dominions ; but on that occasion nothing passed beyond the exchange of the usual

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ceremonies. On the 8th a long conference took place, and on the following day Colonel Collins reminded Scindia of his promise to give an explicit answer after his interview with the Rajah of Berar. The reply of Scindia was as usual evasive; and on the subject being more formally pressed upon him three days afterwards, the necessity of another conference was assigned as a reason for the delay of a decided answer. The Rajah of Berar, in answer to representations made to him by the British resident, referred in like manner to an intended conference, in which not only Scindia and himself were to engage, but also Holkar, whose name was now, for the first time, introduced as a party necessary to be consulted in deciding the question of war or peace with the English. This suggestion seemed to postpone the decision indefinitely, as Holkar was at a great distance from Mulkapore. Scindia subsequently intimated a wish that the resident should pay a visit to the Rajah of Berar, and Colonel Collins, in consequence, requested the Rajah to appoint a day for receiving him. The Rajah declined to appoint any day, and appeared anxious to dispense with the proposed visit. As it could not be doubted that Scindia was acquainted with the Rajah's feelings, and that when he made the suggestion he well knew what reception awaited the proposal, Colonel Collins justly concluded that he had been wantonly exposed to insult, and intimated his intention to retire from Scindia's camp. He was entreated to postpone his departure for six days, and he consented. He was further ad-

mitted to an audience of the Rajah of Berar, but the Rajah simply acknowledged that he had received a letter from the governor-general, declining to enter into any discussion upon it. Little interest would attach to a detail of further conferences and correspondence, which would exhibit nothing but a repetition of a desire, on one side, to procure an explicit answer, and an exhaustion of all the arts of evasion and delay, on the other, to avoid it. In conformity with instructions from the governor-general, General Wellesley, about the middle of July, addressed a letter to Scindia, requesting him to separate his army from that of the Rajah of Berar, and retire across the Nerbudda; which being effected, the British troops under General Wellesley, who had made some advance, were to retire to their usual stations. The transmission of this letter, and discussion of its contents, gave rise to further communications between the resident and Scindia's ministers, of the same character with those which had preceded it. Proposals which must have been known to be untenable were made to Colonel Collins; and when, at length, he had consented to forward one somewhat less objectionable than others which had preceded, it was transmitted to him for dispatch to General Wellesley, with alterations which were in direct violation of its spirit. The resident now justly conceived that further attempts to preserve the relations of peace were at once hopeless and imprudent. On the 3rd of August he commenced his march from Scindia's camp, and from that period

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the British government was to be regarded as at war with the confederate chieftains.

The governor-general had made extensive preparations for carrying on hostilities with vigour and effect. A vast plan of military and political operations, embracing within its compass the entire territory of India, had been framed, and all its details, with a due regard to contingencies, had been arranged with minute care. It consisted of two grand divisions, the management of which were assigned respectively to the commander-in-chief, General Lake, and to General Wellesley. To the former officer were committed the affairs of Hindostan—to the latter those of the Deccan.

In this plan, the views of the Marquis Wellesley were directed not merely to the temporary adjustment of the disputes which had rendered it necessary to put large armies in motion, but to such a settlement as should afford a reasonable prospect of continued peace and security to the British government and its allies.

A.D. 1803. General Wellesley had marched from Poona, with the main body of the forces under his command, on the 4th of June. The Peishwa was to have provided a contingent to accompany him, but a very small portion of the stipulated force was furnished. Under the authority conferred on him by the governor-general, General Wellesley exercised a general superintendence over the diplomatic intercourse of Colonel Collins with Scindia and the Rajah of Berar. On this coming to an end, he gave

immediate orders for the attack of Scindia's fort of Baroach, and issued a proclamation explaining the grounds upon which it had become necessary for him to commence hostilities against the combined Mahratta chiefs. The force under his immediate command at this time consisted of three hundred and eighty-four European, and one thousand three hundred and forty-seven regular native cavalry; one thousand three hundred and sixty-eight European, and five thousand six hundred and thirty-one native infantry. In addition to these numbers were a few artillerymen, between six and seven hundred pioneers, two thousand four hundred horse, belonging to the Rajah of Mysore, and three thousand Mahratta horse. Nearly eighteen hundred men, European and native, with some Bombay lascars, and a small park of artillery, had been left at Poona for the protection of the capital and person of the Peishwa. The weather prevented General Wellesley from marching as early as he wished. On the 8th of August it cleared, and early in the morning of that day he dispatched a message to the killadar of Ahmednuggur, to require him to surrender the fort. He refused, and the pettah was immediately attacked at three points. The contest was severe, but it terminated in favour of the British. On the following day preparations were made for attacking the fort. On the 10th a battery of four guns was opened; the fire of which soon had the effect of inducing the killadar to make an overture of surrender upon

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terms. On the 12th, he with his garrison of fourteen hundred men marched out, and the British commander took possession. The effect of this capture was to place at the command of the English all Scindia's territories south of the Godavery.

A few days after the fall of Ahmednuggur, General Wellesley had the satisfaction to hear that his orders for the attack of Baroach had been successfully carried into effect. This duty was performed by Colonel Woodington. He had expected assistance from a schooner with two eighteen-pounders, which was to have been brought to anchor within a short distance of the fort. It was found impracticable to bring her up, and in consequence Colonel Woodington was compelled to make an arrangement for bringing up the eighteen-pounders and stores in boats. The pettah, though defended by the enemy in great force, fell into the hands of the English without much either of difficulty or loss. The fort was subsequently stormed, and though a vigorous resistance was offered, the attack was eventually successful. The loss of the British was small; that of the enemy dreadfully heavy.

A.D. 1803. The capture of Baroach was effected on the 29th of August. On the same day on which victory thus graced the British arms at the western extremity of the peninsula of India, the army of Bengal, under General Lake, struck the first important blow against the enemy on the frontier of Oude. Its object was a French corps in the service of Scindia, under the

command of an officer named Perron.* This corps, which was originally raised by an officer named De Boigne, had acquired great celebrity in India. De Boigne is said to have been a native of Savoy, who, after serving successively in the armies of France and Russia, and having, whilst in the service of the latter power, been made prisoner by the Turks, found his way to Madras, where he became an ensign in the army of the East-India Company. According to some authorities, the distant prospect of promotion in that service discouraged him; according to others, he took offence at some act of the governor; but, whatever the cause, he quitted Madras and proceeded to Calcutta, being provided with letters of introduction to Mr. Hastings. From Calcutta he proposed to proceed overland to Russia, and the design, it has been alleged, was not then first formed. It is said that at St. Petersburg De Boigne had laid before the Empress Catherine a project for exploring the countries between India and Russia—that, in the exercise of its usual policy, the Russian court had offered encouragement to the plan—and that at Calcutta De Boigne submitted it to Hastings, concealing from him the fact that the government of Russia was interested in the project. Hastings, who was always zealous for the extension of the boundaries of geographical knowledge with regard to India and the surrounding countries, gave him a recommendatory letter to the Vizier, who bestowed

* Not the person mentioned at page 31 as in the service of the Nizam.

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on him a dress of honour, in addition to other gifts better suited to the necessities of a traveller. Circumstances, which are differently related, led him to relinquish the dangers and difficulties of his projected journey to Russia for a continued residence in India, and Hastings soon learned that De Boigne had entered the service of the Rajah of Jeypoor. The governor-general thereupon recalled him to Calcutta, and, though he had no power of enforcing the call, De Boigne thought fit to obey it. He succeeded in making his peace with Hastings, and obtained his permission to return. In the interval the Rajah of Jeypoor had resolved to dispense with his services, but he made him a liberal present; and, according to some, De Boigne further improved his fortune by successful speculations in trade. But De Boigne was not at ease—he longed to resume his military habits and occupations, and opportunity was not wanting. Scindia was actively engaged in promoting his own aggrandisement at the expense of his neighbours, and De Boigne deemed that his own interests would be best advanced by uniting them with these of Scindia. In his eyes all services were alike if they offered hope of promotion or of gain. Whether he sought Scindia, or Scindia him, seems doubtful; but he entered the service of that chief, and soon secured such a measure of his confidence as led to the rapid increase of his own power and influence. De Boigne at first commanded two battalions. In process of time the number was augmented to eight, and subse-

quently to sixteen, with a train of eighty pieces of cannon. At later periods still further additions were made, and the whole were formed into three brigades; the first and third commanded by Frenchmen named Perron and Pedrons, the second by an Englishman of the name of Sutherland. De Boigne retired some years before the period immediately under notice, partly, it is believed, from a fear that jealousy of his overgrown power might lead to some attempt to reduce it, partly because his constitution was broken and debilitated, and partly because one object to which his exertions had been assiduously directed was attained, in the accumulation of a fortune supposed to amount to four hundred thousand pounds. The retirement of De Boigne led to a struggle for the honour of succeeding him in the chief command. Sutherland aspired to it, but Perron, having the advantage of seniority, and the still greater advantage of being present with Scindia at the time the vacancy occurred, secured to himself the desired post.

The origin of Perron was very humble: he had arrived in India as a common sailor. Having entered the service of De Boigne, he manifested an aptitude for rising not inferior to that of his commander.* On succeeding to the chief command, he

* The account of De Boigne and his successor, Perron, does not rest on official documents, but is taken partly from a note in Duff's History of the Mahrattas, grounded on information furnished to the writer by De Boigne himself, and partly from a work entitled "A Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the Regular Corps

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sedulously improved all opportunities for increasing his own power. De Boigne had received certain lands for the maintenance of his troops. Perron, succeeding to this as well as to the authority of his predecessor, sought both to extend his possessions and to render himself independent of the chief from whom they had been obtained. Scindia's local authority in Hindostan had declined, and that of Perron had increased. The districts subject to the latter yielded a revenue of vast amount. The inhabitants regarded him as their immediate chief, while the allegiance of the troops at his command was naturally and necessarily yielded rather to the man from whom they received orders, subsistence, and pay, than to an authority of which they knew little, and which was never visibly exercised. The designs of Perron had been aided by a variety of circumstances. Though a Mahratta, Scindia was greatly inferior to him in cunning and activity. The almost exclusive direction of that chief's attention to the Deccan—the anxiety with which he had sought to promote his interests at Poona, had greatly

formed and commanded by Europeans, in the service of the Native Princes of India, with details of the principal Events and Actions of the late Mahratta War, by Lewis Ferdinand Smith, late Major in Doulat Roa Scindia's service." The writer had good means of acquiring information, and there is every reason to believe that he employed them honestly. The book, which was originally published in Calcutta, is curious in itself. The copy in the library of the East-India Company will, to many, possess an additional interest from bearing the following inscription:—"From the Marquis Wellesley, 26th April, 1808."

weakened his influence in the northern parts of India. In states constituted like those of the Mahratta confederacy, the authority of the prince is always endangered by absence or inactivity; and in the case of Scindia, the causes of decline previously at work had been powerfully aided by the success of Holkar. The result was, in the words of the governor-general, "to found an independent French state on the most vulnerable part of the Company's frontier."* Nor was it to be overlooked that Perron's influence extended considerably beyond the dominions of which he possessed the actual administration. He sought to dictate with the authority of a superior to the petty states around him, and even to some at a distance; and having at his disposal a military force, which neither with reference to numbers nor discipline could be despised, his attempts were not unattended with success. The governor-general saw the necessity of crushing without delay this new and formidable enemy. General Lake was instructed to regard "the effectual demolition of the French state, erected by M. Perron on the banks of the Jumna, as the primary object of the campaign," and the general was to distribute his forces and regulate his operations in such a manner as to effect it without delay.

On the 7th of August Lord Lake had marched from Cawnpore with the infantry on that station under the command of Major-General St. John. A.D. 1803.

* Letter to General Lake, 27th of July, 1803.

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The cavalry, under Colonel St. Leger, followed on the 8th. On the 13th the whole army encamped near Kanouge. It was subsequently joined by Major-General Ware with a detachment from Futyghur. On the 28th it encamped on the frontier, and at four o'clock on the morning of the 29th, entered the Mahratta territory. No time was lost in moving to the attack of Perron's force, which was strongly posted at a short distance from the fortress of Alyghur. At seven o'clock the British cavalry advanced upon them in two lines, supported by the infantry and guns; but the rapid retreat of the enemy put an end to the action almost as soon as it had commenced. Attempts were made to charge some considerable bodies of cavalry who made pretence of standing, but in vain. All fled, and with such hearty vigour as left to their pursuers little chance of overtaking or doing them any considerable mischief. The English took possession of the town of Coel, and made preparations for attacking Alyghur, which place Perron had left in charge of Colonel Pedrons; but the attack was delayed for a few days to try the effect of negotiation. It has too often been the practice of Europeans in Indian warfare to have recourse to means of attaining their objects, which, however common in native contests, are highly discreditable to nations professing to be governed by higher standards of morality and honour. It was thought that corruption might prove an efficient substitute for arms, and it was not till the hope of success from this source had failed that

it was resolved to try more honourable means of obtaining possession of Alyghur.*

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* In passing censure on any part of the conduct of so excellent an officer, and—notwithstanding his occasional resort to practices which honourable feeling must condemn—so high-minded a man as General Lake, it is just to allow him the benefit of explaining his own motives. In a letter to the Marquis Wellesley, dated September 1st, 1803, he says :—" I have not yet moved from hence [Coel], nor am I in possession of the fort of Alyghur ; my object is to get the troops out of the fort by bribery, which I flatter myself will be done. My reason for gaining it in this way proceeds from a wish to expedite matters and save the troops." The general then proceeds to notice the difficulties and objections to attempting the reduction of the place either by a regular siege or a *coup de main*, after which, he continues, " The loss of men, particularly Europeans, is a most serious consideration. Therefore, if by a little money I can save the lives of these valuable men, your lordship will not think I have acted wrong or been too lavish of cash. No one expects more of a soldier than myself when I think it absolutely necessary to call forth their exertions ; at the same time I have ever avoided risking the life of a soldier when it could be spared." The general tone of these sentiments is highly creditable to the writer ; yet it must be remembered that if humanity be, as it unquestionably is, a bright grace in the character of a soldier, so also is that chivalrous feeling of honour, which would shrink from tempting an opponent to acts which the tempter feels would involve himself in unutterable disgrace. There is, in this instance, one extenuating circumstance which it would be unjust to pass over. The parties to be bought were not men warring for their country's interest and honour, but mercenary hirelings whose swords were purchaseable, and whose allegiance, it must be presumed, would be transferred from one master to another as circumstances might render convenient. To such men the offer of a bribe did not convey the insult which it bears when tendered to a soldier whose services are not marketable ; but still, as these men had bound themselves to serve Scindia, they ought to have adhered to their bargain ; and if a breach of faith were reprehensible in them, it was reprehensible also to tempt them to commit it.

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After weighing the comparative advantages of seeking the reduction of the place by a regular siege or by an immediate assault, the latter course was resolved upon. The 4th of September was fixed for the attack. The force destined for it was composed of four companies of the King's 76th regiment and detachments from two regiments of native infantry. It was led by Colonel Monson, an officer of distinguished bravery. During the preceding night two batteries of four eighteen-pounders each had been erected to cover the approach of the storming party, which left the camp at three o'clock in the morning, and advanced in a curved direction towards the gateway. On arriving within four hundred yards of it they halted till break of day. While thus waiting, an officer, who had been reconnoitering, reported that sixty or seventy of the enemy were seated round a fire smoking in front of the gateway. A British party was immediately detached in the hope of taking them by surprise, and to endeavour, amidst the confusion which it was expected would ensue, to enter the fort with them and secure the gate till the main body should arrive. The latter object was not attained. The surprise was so complete, and the ardour of the British party so great, that all opportunity of retreat for the enemy was cut off. Not one of them escaped to relate the particulars of the surprise; and though the sentinels on the ramparts gave fire on hearing the disturbance, no extraordinary alarm was excited, the affair being taken to

be the result only of a near approach of the videts of the British force.'

The morning gun was the signal for the movement of the storming party, which, covered by a heavy fire from the two batteries, advanced till they came within a hundred yards of the gate. Here a traverse had been recently thrown up, and mounted with three six-pounders, but the enemy were dislodged before they had time to discharge them. Colonel Monson pushed forward with the two flank companies of the 76th regiment to enter the fort with the retreating guard, but the gate was shut and the approach exposed to a destructive fire of grape. Two ladders were then brought to the walls, and Major M'Leod, with the grenadiers, attempted to mount; they were opposed by a formidable row of pikemen, and desisted. It was then proposed to blow open the gate, and a six-pounder was placed for the purpose, but failed. A twelve-pounder was brought up, but a difficulty arose in placing it, and in these attempts full twenty minutes were consumed, during which the assailants were exposed to a destructive fire. The enemy behaved with great bravery, descending the scaling ladders which had been left against the walls, to contend with the party seeking to force an entrance. The first gate at length yielded, and the attacking party advanced along a narrow way defended by a tower pierced with loopholes, from which a constant and deadly fire was kept up by matchlock-men,